THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR

Vol. 5 *Autumn · 1936* *No. 4*

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See "'Standing Room Only' in Moscow," page 396

The Pickwick Club Goes to the Parade Grounds

A scene from the dramatization of Dickens' *Pickwick Papers* presented at the Moscow Art Theatre under the supervision of Constantin Stanislavski, with settings designed by Peter Williams. Moscow, 1935.

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Mars Proposes—Can Uncle Sam Dispose?

WALTER MILLIS

DO we as a people wish to keep out of any and all foreign wars, regardless of their probable consequences? Or do we have certain great national interests—interests in defending democracy against fascism, or in suppressing aggressive war, or in preserving a European balance favorable to our political power and economic prosperity—so great and so immediate that they would justify the economic loss and human agony which our participation in a war would involve?

This is, after all, the primary question at the bottom of the neutrality problem; and it is the question which after some twenty years of history and debate is still shrouded in almost complete confusion.

"Neutrality," said President Wilson as he stood before Congress on that rainy night in April 1917, "is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved," and from that declaration he went on to proclaim the war to end war and to "make the world safe for democracy." He was greeted with the cheers of Congress as he did so and the all but universal acclaim of the nation. Even Senator Henry Cabot Lodge shook him warmly by the hand and his political opponents endorsed his high purpose as enthusiastically as his supporters. The United States went into the World War, sacrificed some hundred thousand lives and many billions of dollars to establish the peace of the world and the freedom of its peoples, and in the end the War was duly won.

Unfortunately it was to prove, as it so often does, a far easier matter to win the military victory than to put into practice the lofty principles which had been invented to justify the sacrifice. Barely two years later the United States was beginning to real-

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ize that it might have been mistaken; that it had no particular desire to make the world safe for democracy; that warring to end war was a costly, unattractive business, and that in fact neutrality might possess practical advantages which had been overlooked amid the moral fervors of 1917. Disillusioned, we relapsed into that very policy of non-entanglement which we had cheered President Wilson for declaring to be no longer "feasible or desirable." Yet then and in the years since then the problem of devising a neutrality policy that would be feasible or of developing any workable American attitude toward the probable coming war was to remain unsolved.

In the days first of reconstruction and then of prosperity which followed upon the famous declaration of "normalcy" in 1920 this omission was not seriously noticed. Having decreed the world to be normal by nothing less than a landslide vote we assumed that the normal pre-war solutions, in diplomacy as well as in economics, in social theory as in political practice, must obviously be sufficient. Yet there were indications beneath the relatively placid surfaces of events that things might not be so completely normal as we had announced them to be. Even Mr. Harding promised to put us into "a" League of Nations—though that finally boiled down into a naval disarmament conference as a consequence of which the chief maritime powers were to go on steadily arming themselves through the next decade. At Geneva the continued existence of "the" League of Nations raised certain issues which had been unknown to the pre-war world, though Mr. Hughes, during his tenure as Secretary of State, was able to meet the situation by carefully receiving and despatching all communications with that embarrassing institution with a long pair of tongs.

There were other indications of a lingering doubt as to whether the verdict of 1920 had been a really final disposal of the problems raised by the events of 1914 to 1917. Senator Borah, having devoted all his great talents to repelling the monstrous menace of a League under which war would have been outlawed, was soon actively pressing his proposal for the

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international outlawry of war. He was to see it grow into the Kellogg Pact, duly signed and ratified by the powers under the cautious and often explicit reservations that in no circumstances would it mean anything. There followed the great dentition controversy—as to whether the Pact did or did not have teeth and whether it ought or ought not to possess them—in the course of which it began to appear, strangely enough, that the central question of whether our policy was really one of pre-war neutrality or of Wilsonian internationalism might not have been settled after all. The issue was still further confused in the altruistic but adventurous hands of Secretary Stimson who, applying the Kellogg Pact to the undeclared war in Manchuria, achieved the Stimson Non-Recognition Doctrine—an ingenious merger of the two policies which, while designed to retain the best features of each, seemed more likely, to many observers, to end only in making the worst of both.

Nor has Mr. Roosevelt been backward in extending this internationalist tendency; we have seen Mr. Norman Davis roaming quietly through Europe in a fashion singularly like that of Colonel House in the war years. The Davis Doctrine, announced in May 1933, under which the United States would agree, in return for a real measure of European disarmament, to refrain from interfering by an assertion of neutral rights with any war waged by the League powers against an aggressor implied, even more clearly than the Stimson Doctrine of the previous year, an almost complete reversal of the decision of 1920.

But if our statesmen were thus reversing that decision the American people seemed quite unaware of the fact. As far back as the early '20's Mr. Bernard M. Baruch had realized that if our policy toward the next war was to be one of neutrality it might be well so to fortify it that it would actually serve to keep us neutral. Mr. Baruch had been impressed, as chairman of the War Industries Board, with the overwhelming importance of economic factors in modern war situations; he realized how vital were all the various questions of exports and imports, war

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supplies and war profits, and it was a realization which turned him to the problem of "taking the profit out of war." Mr. Baruch seems to have had a double object. He was interested in establishing the financial and economic mechanisms that would enable the country to fight a war efficiently should it come; but by making the war business less profitable he also hoped to discourage an American entanglement in another war. At all events his labors were a starting point for all the discussion over embargoes, munitions, and the problems of neutral trade which have recently been filling our ears.

All this time we were continuing a naval policy which insisted almost truculently on last-jot equality with the strongest other power on the seas—a policy which perhaps accorded with a complete isolationist neutrality but scarcely made sense in any rational program of international cooperation. Perhaps this was of no great significance, for naval building policies seldom seem to make sense under any conditions. But in the controversies which it produced with the British, especially at the time of the abortive Geneva Naval Conference in 1927, all our old conflicts with British sea power over issues of neutral rights—not only in the World War but in the War of 1812—were revived, while beneath them the question of how in fact we did propose to maintain our neutral position in another war began more and more insistently to shape itself.

Finally, it is worth while to recall that in 1928 and 1929, in the last glorious, explosive sunset of the Big Bull Market, there came an interesting series of embargo resolutions in Congress. The Burton resolution of 1928 would have provided that "whenever the President recognizes the existence of war between Foreign nations by making proclamation of the neutrality of the United States" it should be unlawful to export arms and munitions. The Fish resolution of the following year was in the same sense. And there were others. The great depression swallowed them all up; they were, however, the immediate forerunners of the present neutrality act.

Here are some of the high spots in the backgrounds out of

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which the present issue of neutrality has emerged. Taken all together they boil down to little more than a grand confusion. They show how completely we failed, after the solemn rejection of the Wilsonian concept of a proper foreign policy, to put any other in its place. They show, too, the increasing national uneasiness under this state of affairs, the increasing realization that a combination of the Monroe Doctrine and the apparatus of pre-1914 neutrality law is no longer a wholly adequate equipment wherewith to meet the problems of a world which the events of 1914 so profoundly transformed. It was only, however, under the stresses of the great depression that Americans really awoke to the fact that the last war had gone by and that the unsolved problem of America and the next one faced us with an extreme urgency.

In the winter of 1933-34 the Council on Foreign Relations of New York undertook a study conference on the problem of neutrality. It was for this conference that Mr. Charles Warren prepared a paper which, when it was published a few months later, attracted much attention. Mr. Warren's purpose, apparently, was to demonstrate the utter impossibility of preserving American neutrality in the event of another major European war. Recalling our war-time experiences (with which he had been intimately connected as Assistant Attorney General charged with the enforcement of the neutrality statutes) he catalogued all the drastic new enactments, all the onerous assumptions of further neutral duties, the sacrifices of trade opportunities, which he felt would be necessary to this end. The implication was that the American people would never submit to anything so extreme, that neutrality was therefore hopeless and we might as well turn instead to cooperation with the League in order to prevent the coming war. But as the discussion provoked in part by this paper developed, it seemed that the American people had missed the point entirely. Neutrality was what they wanted. Mr. Warren's catalogue of necessary enactments was taken not as proof that neutrality was undesirable but as an expert's analysis of how to get it, and Mr.

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Warren presently found himself at the State Department assisting in preparing a neutrality program.

The issue had at last been joined. At about the same time the publication of *Fortune's* article on the munition makers touched off a wave of interest in the so-called "merchants of death"; there followed a flood of books and articles and presently the Nye Committee was off upon its great hunt after the criminal bankers and armament manufacturers whose greed for profits must, obviously, be a chief cause of war and a main threat to neutrality. Before it was through the Nye Committee itself was to realize that the question was not quite as simple as all that; but in the meanwhile it brought Mr. Baruch back upon the scene, it awoke a great popular interest in the whole subject and it stimulated other powerful voices to make themselves heard.

It soon became apparent that at least three principal and somewhat contradictory schools of thought were engaged upon the neutrality debate. There were, to begin with, the strict isolationists, led by the Nye Committee. Neutrality to them was primarily a matter of rigidly cutting off this country from the international scene and they were but secondarily interested, if at all, in the violence which this would do to the complex of economic and political interest which makes us a part of that scene. But there were also what might be called the neo-Wilsonians, who seemed powerfully entrenched in the State Department. Observing that any system of embargoes and prohibitions must have a positive international effect as well as a negative domestic one it occurred to them that such neutrality legislation might itself provide an instrument for cooperation with League efforts to suppress war. They were primarily interested in continuing to bring American power and influence to bear upon the international scene and only secondarily, it would appear, in keeping America neutral should another general war nevertheless result. Finally, there was the school of legalists, who found their most influential leader in Mr. John Bassett Moore. Their argument was that the trouble in 1917

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was not with the established international law of neutrality but with the incompetence of a statesmanship which misunderstood and neglected it. Content with the present structure of neutrality law they were but secondarily interested in the twenty years of history which demonstrate the practical difficulties of applying that law in such a way as to keep the country out of war.

It is understandable that a broth simultaneously worked up by so many cooks should meet the traditional fate. Between the Nye Committee, the State Department and the disciples of Judge Moore, between the determined neutrals and the League cooperationists, the people who wanted to shoot the bankers and those who preferred to prepare for shooting Mussolini or Hitler, the Neutrality Act of 1935 was finally elaborated—a hasty compromise, woven together out of all these diverse strands of thought and experience. Its results were promptly to appear in practice.

The expected Italo-Ethiopian War duly broke out and the President, despite the very obvious fact that this minor operation in colonial conquest could not possibly compromise American neutrality, sprang to put the new legislation into effect. Solemnly the President warned American citizens against travelling in Italian liners, lest they be blown up by the submarines of a totally landlocked power or bombed by the airplanes of a nation which possessed none. The arms embargo was declared impartially against Ethiopia, which had no intention of buying American arms, and against Italy, which might be directly embarrassed by the interdiction. And having embargoed the export of arms the President further endeavored to discourage trade of any sort with either belligerent—a measure again clearly directed against the Italians.

The fact that a neutrality measure may bear more heavily upon one belligerent than upon the other is not in itself a final objection to it, for it is rarely that any such measure can be exactly impartial in its effects. But what the President was making was not an effort to keep America neutral; it was an effort

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to cooperate with the League in bringing the conflict to an end on terms favorable to Ethiopia. He was, in other words, unneutrally intervening in the Italo-Ethiopian war, which carried no threat of entangling the United States, in such a way as gravely to compromise this country's position in case the possible League-Italian war—which represented the only real menace to American neutrality in the situation—should break out. It was the failure of the League powers to carry through their policy rather than the terms of the neutrality act which saved us from the perils, and the awkwardness, of that position; and it is not without embarrassment that the State Department has since been quietly endeavoring to retreat from it. In the meanwhile, however, the whole episode early suggested that there was something distinctly unsatisfactory about the 1935 act. The debate was resumed when Congress convened at the beginning of the present year but without thoroughness and with no real conclusion. In the end the ramshackle original structure was propped up with a further provision for a mandatory embargo on loans to belligerent governments, a few minor patches were added, and the matter was left at that.

The amended act is still so far from answering the fundamental questions in the neutrality problem that it seems hardly worth while to discuss its provisions in detail. Do we as a nation really wish to withdraw our influence from the international world and have no say concerning the play of international political forces that may at many points affect us? Specifically do we really wish to see Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy emerge victorious from a war against France and Great Britain—today the only important democratic powers in the world besides ourselves? Is it not still desirable to work toward peace by helping other groups in the suppression of aggressors; is it not important to us to strengthen Russia in restraint of Japan or aid the Franco-British combination in making the world safe for democracy? Because the neo-Wilsonians have realized the importance of such questions and have suspected that the answer to them may after all be in the affirmative, theirs is in a sense the

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most fundamental of the three main approaches to the neutrality problem. It gets down below the isolationists' simple preoccupation with a single object—to keep out of war—which they can only assume to exist in the popular mind. It gets down below the legalists' preoccupation with mere method to the fundamental stuff of policy which the methods must serve. It gets down to within sight of the basic question underlying the whole problem of peace and war in the modern world—the question of what our national purpose really is or is likely to be when "emergency" appears. The neo-Wilsonians are in sight of this question but because even they have not clearly grappled with or answered it their intervention in the neutrality debate has probably served in fact to confuse even more than to clarify the problem.

What is wanted first of all—but what we shall probably get last, if at all—is a clear definition of national interest, a clear popular agreement upon those national aims—whether of co-operation with others or of selfish defence—which are important enough to assert by force of arms and which arms give some promise of being able to realize. My own feeling is that very few such aims exist; I suspect that the establishment of general peace is certainly one which can never be achieved by force of arms, while many of our supposed national interests are not worth the costs and agony of their defence by war. But however that may be it seems plain that only upon some such general understanding of the national purpose can any practicable general policy of neutrality be erected. That is the necessary foundation. Only when we know what we must and what we will not fight for, can we shape the policies and methods which will keep us out of conflicts which are not our concern, or help to prevent conflicts to which we cannot remain indifferent.

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"Standing Room Only" in Moscow

NORRIS HOUGHTON

ON the closing page of an account of the Soviet theatre which I made after recent research in Russia I made this observation, "The Soviet theatre has risen to a peak because the people of Russia have pushed it there." The Russian theatre's occupation of a peak has been a fact established for some years throughout the Western world by hearsay, critical observation, and infrequent excursions of Russian companies into our midst. Its excellence has been attributed variously to the inherent histrionic ability of the Slavs as a people, to the zeal of their experimental spirit, to the care, training and preparation of the artists, and more recently, by the Leftists, to the leavening influence of the Revolution. Few people have suggested that the Russian public might be responsible for this excellence. Undoubtedly it is, however.

Night after night in Moscow the people flock to its forty professional theatres. During a strenuous season of play-going which took me to some ninety performances I saw a vacant seat not more than a dozen times. Shortly after seven in the evening the foyers would begin to fill. There were many who seemed to have come direct from their work. They would enjoy a light supper in the theatre's buffet before the doors to the hall were opened. Then they would go in, find their seats, open their evening newspapers, and make themselves at home until the play was ready to begin. That sense of belonging in the theatre is one which comes only with frequent attendance, only when one is ready to throw aside objectivity and join oneself with the action. American audiences rarely feel it because they are composed of people who go too infrequently ever to consider themselves quite at home there and who have a passive rather than an active attitude toward participation. The crowd at an American ball game does have this sense, for here the spectators both feel that they belong and identify themselves with the game.

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"Standing Room Only" in Moscow

It is a motley crowd which fills Moscow's playhouses. There are the old men with thick beards and the old women with shawls over their heads; there are quantities of soldiers, for although they have a theatre of their own, the "Theatre of the Red Army," there are always dozens of them to be seen at the other theatres. There are many young people; they too have special theatres—the TRAM or Theatre of the Young Workers is the largest one in Moscow—but they flock to the operas and plays at the big playhouses in such numbers that as one looks about it seems most of the audience is under thirty.

This feeling of being at home in the theatre might destroy, one would think, the glamour of the stage for the Russian audience. But in some strange way—or perhaps it is not so strange—the habitual remains for them always exciting. As soon as the lights dim the newspapers are put away, the sandwiches are hastily swallowed, and all eyes and ears belong to the stage. Inattention and slumber are never encountered and there are no distractions. Although the plays begin at seven-thirty in the evening and at twelve o'clock at matinees the audience is promptly in its seats. The doors are tightly closed and all latecomers—and there are few therefore—must stand without in the lobby until the first interval. An admirable rule, and why is it not practised here? How can one give oneself over to the enchantment of the play if one is to be rudely jostled and walked over by latecomers? For four hours the Russians sit on the very edges of their seats and when the play is over the applause is tumultuous. There is nightly what we should consider in New York an ovation; there are bravos and many of the young people run to the footlights and call their favorites by name.

Such ready enthusiasm might lead one to suspect that the Moscow public has no critical taste, that it will cheer anything. This is not true. In fact for a public with no background of dramatic culture, the great majority of whom have only become theatre-going within the last ten or fifteen years, it has a remarkably sound knowledge of good and bad in theatrical art. The classics, both Russian and foreign, always draw great

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crowds. *Pickwick Club*, a dramatization of the Dickens book, performed originally during the 1935 season at the Moscow Art Theatre, was the most popular play on that stage while I was in Moscow. Nothing could be farther removed from the propaganda plays of the 1920's than this fresh and charming re-creation of Dickensian England. That peculiar blend of caricature and realistic humor which is Dickens' these Muscovite actors have completely matched in their performances. The settings in which they antic are bright with color and boldly posteresque in style; at the same time they are faithful to the form and spirit of the early 19th century. The Russians have always loved Dickens; the Soviets now return to him with appetites heightened after seasons of political fare. *The Cherry Orchard* after thirty years still sells out at the Art Theatre. At the opera the Russian works of Chaikovski, Mussorgski, Borodin, Rimski-Korsakov are more popular than foreign operas, with the possible exception of *Carmen* of which the Muscovite public is very fond.

Contemporary foreign plays draw smaller audiences than do modern Soviet plays. These latter, which seem crude to the alien, are very popular with the masses, particularly the more uneducated of the proletariat which makes up the majority of the public. This audience is less attracted by the revolutionary experiments in art, for which the Soviet theatre is famous abroad, than it is by the soundly realistic stage. One finds therefore that when the earlier symbolic and expressionistic plays of Meyerhold and Tairov are performed in the repertories of their theatres there are likely to be vacant seats. The more educated theatre-goers also seem to be viewing these experimental productions with a more critical eye than they did ten years ago.

Plays of their revolutionary history seem to appeal to the Russian audiences as much as any other contemporary theme. The houses are regularly crowded for the performances of *The Days of the Turbins*, *Intervention*, *The Optimistic Tragedy*, in which the fiery and exciting experiences of the Civil War, dramatic in very essence, are relived.

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In both these contemporary plays and in the classics the appeal of sex and sexual themes and problems is almost entirely absent. There are no triangle plays, no comedies or tragedies based on the psychology of sex, and the necessity which so many theatrical managers here feel for the presence of that element is not one which the Soviet producer seems to take into account.

As significant perhaps as the kinds of plays which appeal to the Russian audience is its lack of interest in the personalities of actors. The American theatre is built around the individual actors and actresses who are its glory and our public goes more often to the theatre to see Helen Hayes or Katharine Cornell, Alfred Lunt and Lynn Fontanne, or Ina Claire, than to see the play in which each appears. The play is rare which can succeed with neither sex nor star. But in Moscow as the public goes to a theatre which offers none of the former, so also it patronizes a theatre which provides it with none of the latter. Of course there are some actors who are better than others and who are more popular but their participation in a performance is never advertised and the people instead of going to see the actor go to see the play or the production which their favorite theatre presents. The names which one hears in discussions about the stage and the personalities which are prominent are those of the men who produce and direct these plays and theatres. It is they—men like Stanislavski, Meyerhold, Tairov—who set their stamp on the art of a particular theatre, and it is their work which the public goes to see rather than any individual performer's. In fact perhaps even more than the play, director or performer it is the work of the whole theatre, its style, its method of production which attract the audience. It is quite customary for two or three different theatres to produce the same play simultaneously and the public's interest thus shifts from the play to the *way* in which the play is being staged in each place. This requires it seems to me a more sophisticated approach to the art of the theatre than even our New York audience possesses, for it requires a knowledge and appreciation of the niceties of stage technique, and some measure of critical

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judgment. It also obviously demands that one go to the theatre for more than sheer entertainment.

As in Moscow and Leningrad, the great cities, so throughout the Soviet Union the people throng to the playhouses. One goes to a city like Kharkov in the center of the Ukraine, a city about the size of Dayton, Ohio, to find state theatres, a grand opera house, a ballet, and the "standing room only" sign displayed at all of them. Plays are there presented in either Russian or Ukrainian. And Kharkov is but one of many such cities.

In the remoter regions of vast Russia the public becomes more picturesquely exotic in appearance. In the cities of Azerbaijan and Georgia, down near Persia, the theatres are crowded with swarthy, oriental-looking Turks and Armenians and with black-eyed, black-haired, rosy-cheeked Caucasians. There too are theatres where the native tongue is spoken, as well as theatres where the language is Russian. Farther east across the steppes in the cradle-land of the Aryan race in Turkestan the stage draws an eager crowd. To the north and still more eastward, short, stocky, Mongoloid Siberians who once gathered for tribal dances now assemble to see their own native companies, trained through four years' study in Moscow, not only recreate the traditional tribal dramas but present plays of a far-distant world, with a skill that is professional added to intuitive feeling for acting.

It would be extravagant to contend that these primitive audiences have the same standards of taste and literary appreciation as the Moscow public. They demand a simpler drama of more movement and fewer words, a music that will be in their own harmonies, dissonant though it sounds to western ears. At the same time, however, one hears of exciting productions of *Othello* in Baku on the Caspian Sea or of *Hamlet* in Samarkand, of Schiller's *The Robbers* in Tiflis (where, incidentally, there is one of the finest theatres in all Russia).

The annual tours of the great Moscow and Leningrad theatres through the provinces have no doubt been of material aid in creating appreciation for this more cultivated theatre. Every

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summer companies go out from the capital to the Ukraine, the Caucasus, the Crimea, and the East, and everywhere the great artists of the Moscow Art Theatre, the Vakhtangov, the Kamerny and the other theatres are welcomed hungrily.

I have suggested what the Soviet playgoer looks like and what he likes—his tastes and interests in the theatre—but I have yet to explain why, in the last analysis, he is in a playhouse at all. Why are 40 theatres in Moscow and 100 more throughout the rest of Russia filled to overflowing night after night from October to May while Paris can support but half a dozen playhouses and Rome but one, while London packs not more than a dozen of its theatres to their capacity, and but a like number of plays in New York have at any one time during the past season hung out a "Standing Room Only" sign? Why night after night is there this electric excitement in the air within Russia's playhouses while the theatres of America and of the rest of Europe are filled—when they are filled—with apathetic listeners who come late, sit back waiting to be amused, waiting with an "all right, you show me" attitude for the end to come?

Most often I am told that there would be more playgoers in our theatres if they were less expensive, that one can go to the movies for a third what the theatre costs. The price of a theatre ticket in Moscow, however, makes considerable inroads into the average workers' wage, and although it is true that much theatre-going in Russia is done in groups with the factory or institution buying out the house on a particular night and selling the seats to its workers at a 50 per cent reduction, yet the people go back again and again and pay a price comparable to our own box-office prices. And the theatres in Moscow whose tickets are the most costly, the Bolshoi Opera, the Moscow Art Theatre, the Maly Theatre, are those sold out farthest in advance from one end of the season to the other. The theatre in America is considered a luxury, the upkeep of an automobile a necessity; in Russia it is the theatre that people consider a necessity and means of transportation to get somewhere in a hurry are definitely a luxury! No, it is not a matter of finance. In many com-

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munity motion-picture houses in this country patronage has been stimulated recently by offering on what the management euphemistically called "bank night" a chance with each ticket to win an automobile or a trip to Bermuda or some such prize. Contrast with this offering of bait to people to go to the theatre, and the cinema at that, the practice in many of the big factories around Moscow of offering to workers whose proficiency is greatest a ticket to an opera or play as a prize for excellence!

Does the theatre perhaps require a more childlike attitude of "make-believe" than we Westerners with an adult sophistication are willing or able to assume? May not the Russian's love of the theatre rise from some such well-spring of naïveté and imaginative spirit, deeper in him than in other peoples, that makes for a readier assumption of the necessary "let's pretend" which is the theatre's hypothesis? Is not his love of it perhaps as racially characteristic as is the German's love of music and as inexplicable? Need one seek for further explanations?

If one understands and accepts this kinship of the people and the theatre it becomes apparent that the two can go farther hand in hand than elsewhere. One can see how natural it is for the theatre to take on even some of the functions of the church as a forum in which to discuss ethical and moral problems in a country where the church no longer holds its ancient sway. One sees too that it is the most acceptable way to elevate the standard of culture, a thing these people ardently desire. Didacticism such as the Soviet theatre practised during the early years of the Soviet régime would never have been tolerated by an American public because our "average man" is suspicious of all efforts made to broaden his culture. He wishes his education to take place only in the schools which he has provided for the purpose, and education through art, which is a watchword in Russia, is obnoxious to him. The theatre exists to amuse and only rarely to stimulate him or broaden his vision. The Russians are hungry for education and for a further broadening of their meagre culture—which perhaps explains standing room only for Molière, Schiller, Goldoni, Hamsun, Beaumarchais, Gogol, Tolstoi.

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The theatre itself has gone more than halfway to meet its audience and to strengthen the bonds between them. I mean by this something more than the presentation of excellent performances, although one could dismiss the whole thing, I suppose, by saying that the Russian people go so often and so enthusiastically to their theatre because it gives them such good productions. I wish to go further. It is one of the tenets of the Marxian approach to art that art must belong to the people. It must concern itself with their problems and must seek not only to explain their lives but to change them. The theatre must live in and for the people. Now when such an attitude is superimposed upon a people who seem to live in and for the theatre then what wonder that there exists the amazing phenomenon which is the Soviet theatre today.

Our professional drama does not seem to be very largely imbued with such an attitude save perhaps in the Leftist theatre which is quite naturally activated by these same Marxian principles. In the workers' theatres rapidly increasing throughout the country under the stimulation of this same Left theatre a new audience is being brought into touch with the stage, but whether it is being given a vision of the theatre as an art remains, I think, to be seen. At least these workers' theatres exist for their audience and that is more than most of Broadway's theatres do.

The Soviet theatre exists, however, not only for its audience but for itself and that makes its doubled strength redoubled. The theatre workers consider themselves, as they are considered by the people, to be artists and their labors to be art. They live for their audience but they will not compromise with it. They will give it what they think it should have, not what they think it wants. Thus they seek to lift their audience to them. They are not content to reflect a standard of taste—they must create it. And for some strange reason, for which they should thank their Communistic heaven, the people accept the theatre as an art, accept its standards of taste, rise to it and with it and cry for more!

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The Changing Atom

E. F. BARKER

THE conviction that matter in its ultimate nature must be corpuscular is a very old one, having been advanced at least as early as the 5th century B. C. by some of the Greek philosophers. Though lacking any experimental foundation, this point of view appeared to them as a logical necessity growing out of the realization that the universe is dynamic rather than static. Infinite divisibility seems to imply a homogeneity and lack of character such as we assign to space or to pure number. Matter on the other hand assumes a multitude of forms. It exhibits growth, change and decay, sometimes even vanishing from sight to reappear in new forms. Therefore, Anaxagoras affirmed, all things must consist of minute invisible particles in vast numbers, perhaps differing among themselves but certainly subject to an almost infinite variety of association and arrangement. He regarded these particles as imperishable and unchangeable and in this contention was supported by Democritus, who argued that nothing can come of nothing and that anything which exists can never cease to be. Individual opinion was the only basis for these ideas, and they were by no means universally accepted. Nor did they command any vital interest, being barren of practical utility and beyond the possibility of demonstration by any available means of observation. More than a score of centuries were to elapse before the scientific method had been developed to such a degree that controlled and directed processes could be forced to yield more concrete information.

The chemical elements as we know them began to emerge during the latter half of the 18th century. Some, of course, had been known from earliest times, but with no clear understanding of their elementary nature. This is particularly true of the metals, for instance, all of which the alchemists of the middle ages believed to be compounded from the same stuff, intermixed with

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various base or noble properties. These they sought to instill or exorcise by magical incantation. The recognition of definite chemical reactions and their use in analysis developed slowly, but reached fruition during the last half of the eighteenth century in the experiments of Cavendish, Priestley and Lavoisier on the nature of gases. Lavoisier came very near to a statement of the law of definite combining weights and by his studies in combustion laid the foundation for the chemical equation, showing that during a reaction matter is neither created nor destroyed. Chemistry owes its atom, however, to the researches of Dalton and Avagadro early in the 19th century. Dalton approached the problem through a consideration of the three material forms, solid, liquid, and elastic fluid (gaseous) which may be assumed by a single substance such as water. The low density and great compressibility of a gas, he argued, must arise from a very considerable separation of its constituent particles, "each particle occupying the centre of a comparatively large sphere, and supporting its dignity by keeping all the rest which, by their gravity or otherwise, are disposed to encroach upon it, at a respectful distance." Further, "by taking a given volume of any gas we seem persuaded that, let the divisions be ever so minute, the number of particles must be finite. . . . Chemical analysis and synthesis go no farther than to the separation of particles one from another, and to their reunion." From this conclusion it was but a step to the laws of definite and multiple proportions and the establishment of a scale of atomic and molecular weights. The distinction between atoms and molecules, clearly set forth by Avagadro (1811), was not generally appreciated until the latter half of the century however. Atomic chemistry became of age when Mendeleef announced his periodic classification (1869) which provided a correlation not only for the sixty-odd elements then recognized but also for all those since discovered.

Nineteenth-century studies of heat, which led to a successful kinetic theory, seemed also to demand a corpuscular structure for all matter. Gaseous pressures were interpreted in terms of molecular impacts, increasing both in numbers and in violence

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with rising temperature. By measuring the energy necessary to produce given changes in pressure and temperature it was possible to draw definite conclusions regarding the geometric form of various molecules, the character of their motions, and even to estimate their dimensions with some confidence. These observations indicated definitely that colliding atoms do not dissipate any of their energy of motion as a result of mutual impacts, nor do they exchange energy of a rotational character — hence the conception that they must be smooth hard spheres exhibiting perfect elasticity.

When the last decade of the 19th century began, the atomic hypothesis was so firmly established as to be accepted almost without question and was believed to provide adequate explanations for all of the observed phenomena falling within its range. It was, however, still an hypothesis, apparently without the possibility of direct verification. Its atoms were true ultimates; indivisible, impenetrable, immutable and imperishable, but known only statistically, not as individuals.

The three years from 1895 to 1897 marked the beginning of a new era by virtue of three major discoveries each of which provided new and essential tools for atomic investigation. There were the recognition of X rays by Roentgen, the identification and measurement of the electron by Thompson, and the observation of radioactivity by Becquerel. Although the first two have each led to tremendous developments, both scientifically and commercially, the last has perhaps yielded a larger share of intimate information concerning the universe around us.

Salts of uranium were found by Becquerel to emit emanations capable of penetrating thin layers of solid matter, blackening photographic plates, inducing a glow upon fluorescent substances, and causing ionization in the surrounding air. One of his associates, Mme. Marie Curie, soon showed that a similar behavior is exhibited by several other substances, some of which are much more active than uranium itself. The character of the emanations was demonstrated by subjecting them to a magnetic field. This indicated two types of corpuscles, which have been

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called alpha and beta particles, and a third form of radiation, gamma rays, similar to X rays (very short wave electromagnetic pulses). The beta particles proved to be negatively charged electrons, emerging with a continuous range of velocities from zero up to a very high maximum. They are subatomic, with a mass so small that over 1800 of them would be required to equal in weight one hydrogen atom. Alpha particles on the other hand are about four times as heavy as hydrogen atoms and are positively charged. They emerge from any given radioactive substance with a fairly high but perfectly definite and characteristic velocity. Upon impact with a fluorescent plate a single alpha particle may produce a flash of light which is easily visible, though of extremely short duration. Such scintillations are the first phenomena, ascribable to individual corpuscles of atomic size, ever to be observed. Other means for the detection of alpha and beta particles were soon devised, depending upon the ionization which they produce at impact, and convenient methods were arranged for counting them. This made possible one of the most significant experiments in all the history of physical science, a study by Sir Ernest Rutherford of the penetration of thin metal films by alpha particles. Though very simple in concept this experiment provided in a convincing way the answers to several important questions. If a group of alpha particles travelling at high speed is allowed to impinge upon a sheet of metal a few thousands of atoms in thickness, the vast majority of them will pass through without appreciable change in direction and with little loss in speed as if encountering practically no opposition. The metallic atoms must therefore be easily penetrable. A few of the projectiles, however, will be sharply deflected, some even emerging upon the side from which they entered the foil. Therefore, there are occasional violent impacts against particles which, since they cause repulsions, must be positively charged. The magnitude of any such deflection depends upon several factors: the velocity of the approaching alpha particle, the amount of positive charge upon the repelling corpuscle, the minimum distance between them as one passes the other, and the law accord-

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ing to which the repulsive force varies with the distance between centers. The first of these may be measured directly and the others evaluated from a statistical study of the angular distribution of scattered particles when large numbers are permitted to impinge upon a small area of metal foil. A striking result appears immediately. The repelling charge is different for different kinds of atoms and, if measured in multiples of the electronic charge, is exactly equal to the ordinal number of the atom in the periodic chart. Thus the positive charge for hydrogen is one unit, for aluminum 13, for gold 79, and for uranium 92. Each known element has a different characteristic charge, and for each charge from one to 92 an element is known. Since fractional charges do not occur Mendeleef's classification provided for every possible atom. The primary and unmistakable property identifying the atoms of any element is this atomic number, usually designated by Z, which measures the magnitude of the positive electric charge and therefore the number of electrons associated with each neutral atom.

A second result hardly less significant follows from measurements of the nearest approach of the alpha particle to the atomic center when impact occurs. Even for heavy atoms like platinum and gold this distance proves to be not more than one millionth of one millionth of a centimeter, a length approximately one ten-thousandth part of that separating the atomic centers within the metal. This indicates the extreme minuteness of the positive corpuscle or nucleus and explains the ease with which the metal foils are penetrated. Further, the variation of repulsive force with distance proves to follow the inverse square law to a very high approximation. Hence there can be no penetration of the positive nucleus by the alpha particle and the deflection must occur almost wholly within the negative shell—that is, the electrons must all be relatively distant. The atomic picture which thus emerges is suggestive of a minute solar system, the massive central sun binding its planetary electrons by electrostatic rather than gravitational attraction. Unlike those of the solar system, the planets all appear to be identical, though not equidistant,

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and they repel one another instead of attracting. If thought of as corpuscles of definite size and shape (an hypothesis which is certainly neither demonstrable or necessary) they may be considered as moving on orbital paths, each electron having an orbit of its own, characterized by certain dimensions and space relations but followed in what seems like a very careless and approximate fashion. The one precise and definite observable property of these orbits is the work which must be expended in removing an electron from any one of them, a quantity which can be measured in several different ways with great accuracy.

The physical and chemical behavior distinguishing atoms of various sorts may be explained almost wholly in terms of the numbers and arrangements of their outer electrons. The removal of one or more of these, or the capture of additional ones, results in positive or negative ions with entirely different properties. A bit of metallic sodium dropped into a dish of water produces a violent reaction which subsides only when the metal is all dissolved. The sodium exists in solution in the form of positive ions only, each atom having been rendered inactive by the loss of one electron. The sodium in a crystal of ordinary salt is already ionized and may go into solution without producing any noticeable reaction. The chlorine in the salt also dissolves in the form of ions, each having one extra negative electron. When ionization occurs in the process of solution the reaction with water provides the necessary energy for the addition or removal of superficial electrons. Atoms are also ionized by impact with other particles and by the absorption of light. Either process may result in the ejection of electrons from inner layers as well as from the periphery, provided the available energy is great enough. Such changes are transitory, however, for the ions when neutralized revert to atoms of exactly the same sort as before. A transmutation occurs only when the nuclear charge Z is itself changed in magnitude, the atom being irrevocably modified in form and behavior. Alterations of this kind occur spontaneously in radioactivity. Thus metallic radium, with an atomic weight A of 226 and atomic number 88, is transformed upon the emission of

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alpha particles into the gas radon for which A = 222 and Z = 86. The loss of beta particles from thorium B, A = 212, X = 82, results in no appreciable change in weight but increases Z to 83, forming thorium C. If, after losing an alpha particle, an atom emits two beta particles in succession its charge Z returns to the original value. It then requires the same number of planetary electrons as before and exhibits exactly the same chemical properties although the nucleus has a different mass and obviously a different constitution. A given chemical element may therefore be represented by atoms of more than one variety. These are referred to as isotopes and are usually included under a single name.

As a consequence of Becquerel's discovery it has thus become necessary to abandon the belief in immutability of the chemical elements as well as that of indivisibility and impenetrability of atoms. These are the very properties for which the atom was originally named, though they have nothing at all to do with its practical importance in chemical and physical science. The alchemist's dream of changing lead into gold is not so ridiculous as it seemed a generation ago. His methods were wholly inadequate, however. No amount of heating and cooling or of blending and stirring could change an atom. Nuclei can be altered, however, and transmutations actually effected whenever a means is available for penetrating the heart of the atom and delivering to it the necessary quantity of energy, a quantity usually very large in comparison with that involved in ordinary chemical reactions. Up to the present time transmutations have been observed in more than two-thirds of the known elements, always of course in exceedingly small quantities. The difficulty of actually producing the effect is probably less in many cases than that of recognizing and identifying it.

Alpha particles furnished the first probe for performing in the laboratory operations upon nonradioactive atoms. Fifteen years ago Rutherford observed that nitrogen, when subjected to alpha bombardment, ejects protons (hydrogen nuclei). He detected the protons by actually observing their impacts upon a fluorescent screen and identified them by measuring the deflec-

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tions they suffer in a magnetic field. He failed to find the other products of the nuclear reaction but these have since been identified beyond question and the process has been shown to result in the formation of hydrogen (protons) and an oxygen isotope (O_{17}) from alpha particles (helium) and nitrogen. A second reaction of somewhat similar nature, producing helium from hydrogen and lithium, was demonstrated at Cambridge in 1932 by Cockcroft and Walton. In this case the projectiles used were hydrogen ions, accelerated to high speeds by means of an intense electric field and therefore completely under control. Upon collision one of these particles may embed itself in the nucleus of a lithium atom, forming an unstable aggregate which violently disintegrates into two alpha particles. Atoms of several other kinds may be transformed in similar fashion.

Working in the Cambridge laboratory at about the same time Chadwick discovered a particularly interesting type of atomic disintegration involving corpuscles of a sort not previously recognized. These were obtained by bombarding atoms of metallic beryllium with alpha particles and proved to be even more penetrating than X rays. In traversing a layer of paraffin, however, they tend to eject hydrogen atoms by impact. This indicates their massive character. Chadwick showed that they are electrically neutral particles and called them neutrons. Each has a mass almost exactly equal to that of a proton. A variety of methods for their identification and measurement have since been devised, and a tremendous activity has developed in the field of neutron experimentation. These particles, of course, cannot be observed directly, and enter into no chemical reactions. It is only upon impact that they reveal their presence. They are produced in many nuclear reactions and have been found to be especially effective as projectiles for penetrating heavy atoms where the large positive nuclear charge precludes the possibility of attack by protons or alpha particles. Disintegrations or transmutations by neutron bombardment were first announced by Professor Enrico Fermi at the University of Rome in 1934, the effects being detected by the induced radioactivity accompanying them.

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Artificial or induced radioactivity is a nuclear phenomenon first observed by Mme. Irene Curie-Joliot and M. Joliot at the Curie laboratory in Paris in 1933. It involves the production by transmutation of an unstable isotope of some element which, being relatively short-lived, transforms itself spontaneously into a new and stable substance with the emission of either positive or negative electrons. The active substance is one which does not occur naturally but the end product is identical with some one of the existing atomic forms. A typical reaction of this sort is observed when magnesium atoms are bombarded with alpha particles. The products are hydrogen and radio-aluminum, the latter emitting beta particles (negative electrons) and changing into silicon. This activity proceeds at such a rate that, of any given amount of radio-aluminum, half will be transformed within 2.1 minutes. Silicon may also be formed from ordinary aluminum, which upon reaction with impacting alpha particles produces neutrons and radioactive phosphorus. The latter disintegrates into silicon by emitting positive electrons, with a half period of 3.2 minutes. A very large number of such radioactive elements have been produced, all capable of reverting to some familiar stable form by a single spontaneous transition.

Positive electrons are found in many cases of induced radioactivity. They also appear when cosmic radiation traverses dense solids, as was first shown by Anderson at Mount Wilson. That they were not discovered long ago seems strange at first but is explained by the fact that, under laboratory conditions, they persist for exceedingly short times, being neutralized by reaction with negative electrons. They apparently play no permanent rôle in the constitution of atoms.

The special theory of relativity formulated by Einstein some thirty years ago indicated that matter possesses mass or inertia because of, and in proportion to, its energy content. The relation is $E = mc^2$, where E represents the energy, m the mass, and c the numerical value of the velocity of light in free space, each measured in appropriate units. This implies that what we call matter is really a form of energy which has in some way assumed a tan-

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gible and more or less permanent character. If the energy resident in a body could be completely utilized, that is, removed by transfer to other systems, the mass would go with it and nothing at all would remain. On the other hand increases in the energy of any particle must also increase its mass, although by amounts which for ordinary processes are imperceptible because the factor c^2 is so exceedingly large. Only when the bodies are themselves very small and the energy increments relatively large could we hope to detect such effects experimentally.

The first direct evidence in favor of this dependence of mass upon energy content came from measurements with beta particles, or electrons, moving at very high speeds. Observation shows that their masses actually do vary. When moving at a velocity 95 per cent as great as that of light a beta particle proves to be more than three times as massive as at ordinary speeds. In being gradually brought to rest by collisions with other particles it looses kinetic energy, its mass decreasing proportionately, and the measured ratio of loss in energy to loss in mass is exactly c^2. The intrinsic energy of the particle, that remaining after all the motion has been dissipated, accounts for what is called the "rest mass"—which distinguishes matter from all other forms of energy.

The recent experiments on transmutation have provided a second and very convincing verification of Einstein's relation. In every spontaneous disintegration energy is released and the products are hurled apart as from an explosion. After they have been brought to rest their total weight is found to be less than that of the reacting atoms, the difference depending upon the quantity of energy released. If protons are permitted to collide with lithium atoms, for instance, a nuclear reaction may occur with helium nuclei appearing in pairs and flying apart along diametrically opposite paths. Each travels at a measurable speed somewhat higher than it would acquire in falling through four million volts of electrical potential. The total kinetic energy for each pair, which must be dissipated by collision with molecules of the surrounding air, is found to have a mass equivalent of

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0.018 units of atomic weight. This is exactly equal to the difference between the combined atomic weights of the original particles and of the products, viz.

$$(7.014 + 1.008) - (4.002 + 4.002) = 0.018.$$

The numerical agreement indicates that the mass-energy relation is fulfilled and also provides evidence that the observations have been properly interpreted. Relations of this type make possible a very accurate comparison of atomic weights, in fact the only possible comparison applicable to transient atoms. The whole atomic weight scale is now being revised through studies of disintegration phenomena and thus rendered more precise and consistent than hitherto possible by chemical procedures.

From these observations of measurable variations in mass it is not a long step to the concept of creation and annihilation of matter. Of course the word creation as here used does not imply that matter may be called into being at will or made out of nothing. The energy it represents must be available in some form. Radiant energy, for instance, differs essentially from matter, though it must have mass of course. It is propagated with a definite and predictable velocity dependent only upon the wave length of the disturbance and the number and kind of atoms distributed through the space traversed. It cannot be brought to rest without vanishing completely, in which case its energy is commonly utilized to produce heat, i.e. motion in the neighboring atoms. If radiation were transformed into corpuscles of matter its motion would no longer be restricted to a particular velocity and its mass would persist even though the motion became imperceptible. That such a transformation might occur has been considered possible for some time but experimental evidence supporting the idea has appeared only very recently.

In studying the passage of cosmic radiation through dense solids such as metallic lead Dr. C. D. Anderson, working at California Institute of Technology, noted the frequent occurrence of pairs of electron tracks apparently diverging from a common point, as if a positive and a negative electron had been set in motion simultaneously. This interpretation is acceptable only if the

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origin of the particles can be explained, for no experiments have indicated the presence of positive electrons in metals. It is now believed that both members of the pair were created upon the arrival of an energy pulse or proton and that when they appeared radiant energy in an amount sufficient to account for both the rest masses and the kinetic energies must have vanished. This process is spoken of as pair production. It provides a new mechanism for the absorption of very energetic radiations and serves admirably to explain the behavior of gamma rays and cosmic rays in traversing material bodies, long a puzzle. Ordinary light and X rays are not adequate for pair production since they lack the minimum energy necessary to provide the corpuscular masses. Positive electrons produced thus are apparently identical with those resulting from induced radioactivity. They persist for only a very short time. If directed in a stream against a solid, such as a piece of carbon, they are quickly brought to rest and are then neutralized by combining with negative electrons from the carbon atoms. Apparently both positive and negative particles vanish completely and, emerging from the point of impact, an energetic radiation of gamma ray character having precisely the proper wave length is observed.

In many cases of induced radioactivity positives are ejected by unstable atoms which have arisen through transmutation. The mechanism here is doubtless quite similar to that of pair production except that the negative charge is retained by the nucleus to stabilize it while the positive is discarded. Just what conditions initiate the transformation it might be difficult to determine but the probability of its occurrence may be directly computed from the observed mean life of the substance. The ejection of negative electrons, or beta particles, by some atoms exhibiting induced radioactivity, and by others naturally radioactive, in all probability signalizes a similar process. An increase in nuclear charge then follows an absorption of positive rather than a loss of negative electricity. Thus it is not necessary to suppose that any electrons existed within the nucleus before the beta emission.

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The elementary particles which at present seem to be indicated as atomic constituents are electrons, protons and neutrons. The electrons form a neutralizing protective shell outside the positive central corpuscle and determine the characteristic behavior of the substance by conditioning the effect of any atom upon its neighbors. The nucleus itself consists of neutrons and protons firmly bound together in certain stable configurations, the number of protons being just sufficient to account for the nuclear charge, $N_p = Z$. For all light atoms the number of neutrons is very nearly the same as the number of protons but for heavy atoms it is somewhat larger. In any case $N_n = A - Z$. This approximate equality in numbers suggests a strong binding between neutrons and protons, so that they tend to occur in pairs. The number of protons, however, may be reduced to less than half of the total because of their mutual repulsions. For any particular element the value of N_p is fixed. There is then a certain optimal value for N_n corresponding to the most stable nuclear pattern. Small changes in the number of neutrons may be possible, however, which accounts for the existence of isotopes. The farther the ratio N_n/N_p departs from that corresponding to maximum stability the less abundant the atomic species and the greater the probability of a spontaneous radioactive transformation.

It must be supposed that under appropriate conditions neutrons and protons are mutually transformable. A neutron may become a proton, the requisite positive charge being created for the purpose, provided energy is available to produce and eject at the same time a negative electron. The transformation of a proton into a neutron, on the other hand, requires the creation and ejection of a positive. To admit the possibility of these mutual transformations might seem at first to deny the elementary character of the particles, but this depends largely upon how the electric charge is conceived. Although in the past it has been customary to consider electricity and matter as separate entities no real justification for such a view is apparent. The transition from a charged particle to an uncharged one, or the reverse, may simply indicate a change in the state of some fundamental form of

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energy. The question of its ultimate nature is perhaps unanswerable; it is no more of an enigma, however, than was the nature of light a century ago. At that time grave difficulties were encountered in imagining a medium capable of propagating waves with the velocity of light, since the waves were thought of as elastic deformations. When the electromagnetic character of the oscillations was finally recognized, a material medium was no longer essential. A somewhat analogous situation exists today regarding matter waves. Much experimental evidence has come to light justifying and even demanding the interpretation of all material corpuscles in terms of waves, but the nature of the waves and the processes by which they are generated are still almost completely in the dark. If such information ever becomes available the production and transformations of elementary particles will be understandable.

The possible existence of atoms heavier than uranium has already been indicated in some experiments. It seems quite probable, for instance, that a representative of the species $Z = 93$ results from a certain nuclear reaction but, being radioactive, any atoms of this sort persist for a short time only. Stable forms heavier than uranium may perhaps exist naturally in very small concentrations but if so they have escaped detection as yet. The possibility of extremely massive nuclei has also been suggested to explain the tremendous densities observed in certain stellar bodies. A star weighing hundreds of tons per cubic inch cannot consist of atoms as we know them but might be conceived as a single giant nucleus, composed largely of neutrons, with the proper proportion of protons to provide a fairly stable configuration. Violent surface reactions in such a system would be expected, giving rise to an atmosphere of high temperature, and the consequent radiation losses might ultimately necessitate a major readjustment to some new stable form, releasing tremendous energies in a gigantic explosion and a vast flare of light. This, of course, is pure speculation but at least it has the virtue of providing a possible mechanism both for a long-continuing, slow evolution of heat and for an abrupt and violent disruption such as is occasionally observed in stellar evolution.

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The Greatest Show on Earth

ALVIN JOHNSON

WISE were the Fathers—superhumanly wise. How else could they have hit upon the absolutely right formula of four years between elections? They might have tried one year, like the Romans, and as a people we should have accomplished nothing but so long a line of Presidents that only the most tenacious school-boy memory could have hurdled the history exams. They might have taken the lustrum and let us languish for five long years under the tyrant we voted against. Or they might have decided on six years, or the mystical seven. Such terms have been tried in certain consequently disorderly states that face the Southern Cross. Wisely the Fathers fixed on four years. For the winners, two years to exult and act, two years to explain and repair. For the losers, two years to regret and repine, two years to grow new hopes. And for everybody four spacious years to rehearse the great show that tries out the qualities of those who would be our leaders and distribute the prizes, the most glittering of prizes that actors have ever played for: the Presidency, fulfilment of the intensest dreams; cabinet offices, usually carrying a place in the *Dictionary of American Biography;* and thousands of other plums, minor but sweet. And for a majority of us, there are palms of victory, nice to have though not very nutritious.

Some reader will doubtless cry out that this impertinent scribble is making light of something of deadly import. Are we not even now at the parting of the ways? Will not the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November determine the fate of the nation for endless decades? Will not that day shunt us off toward communism, if one side wins; toward fascism if the other side wins? Well, I can view with alarm, too, and

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do in fact when I am trying to influence the vote of some one who needs a thrill of fear for the liver's sake. But I have seen this staunch old nation at the parting of the ways so often that I am inclined to think parting is the natural state of the ways of history.

I was a child when Cleveland ran against Blaine. It was clear as daylight, so most of the wise ones said, that the election of Cleveland would be attended by an armed uprising led by the Grand Army of the Republic, which would never stand by while the rebellious South invaded the defenseless city of Washington. Other wise ones were sure that the Republicans would steal the election and that the Northern Democrats would join with the Southern in reenacting the Civil War. I was a first voter in the Bryan-McKinley campaign and shuddered to think how much blood would flow if Mark Hanna succeeded in purchasing the election. I was among the Christian soldiers that followed Theodore Roosevelt's Bull Moose aberration; among the liberals who fought for the reelection of the Wilson —already extinct—who kept us out of war. I was ardent for the elevation to the White House of Hoover the great engineer, and more ardent for his eviction. I'm ardent now for one of the candidates, but I will not specify, though the fever in me is already mounting and will burn hot before November. I shall be convinced that the fate of the nation turns on the outcome of the election. And if it goes against me—do I have to confess it?—I shall nevertheless eat my breakfast the next morning with good appetite and go about my own affairs with reprehensible unconcern. So will you, and so will all Americans, except the small minority who have to move out of offices or into them, and the still smaller minority who actually took the show in earnest—the boys in the gallery who yelled "Save her!" when the villain sneaked up behind the heroine.

Let me hasten to correct myself. We all take the show in earnest, in one sense. We take *Hamlet* or *Othello* in earnest or we get nothing out of it. You can have no greater disesteem than I have for the languid fellow who doesn't even know the

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names of the candidates for the Vice-Presidency. It costs us a whale of a lot of money to put on this show and it is a reprehensible thing to go to sleep in one's seat. Besides, there is somewhere something very significant about the show as a whole. Perhaps I shall get around to that. But for the moment let us examine its essential features.

First look at the heads of the tickets, not merely in the current campaign but in any campaign within the current memory of man. Without any exception they have been decidedly high-minded men. Some of them have come up out of machine politics and may not have escaped some flecks of mire. Some may have been so stupid as unwittingly to do the will of corruptionists outside. In the whole long row of American Presidents, however, you cannot point to one who did not regard his office as a sacred trust. The American people have never actually had a chance to choose between Presidential candidates on grounds of patriotic quality or devotion to the public welfare. In the heat of a campaign, to be sure, accusations of bad faith and even of treason are bandied about openly or hissed forth in an incredible volume of whisperings. But this is just a part of the show. Only in the rarest cases do the protagonists in the drama stoop to such accusations. But each recognizes that if the other side circulates atrocity yarns, so must his side. With round, unblinking eyes he bids his campaign manager conduct a clean campaign—and lose no tricks.

What is the campaign manager to do? He would confine his attention to the high-minded, if there were enough of these and if they remembered to vote on election day. In default of a sufficiency of the high-minded the manager must perforce arrange his material by strata. For the higher strata, considerations of the national tradition and the public interest; for somewhat lower strata, appeals to immediate interest—protective duties, subsidies and other doles; for the lowest strata of all, appeals to prejudices and hatreds. Sometimes the low appeal is couched in the form of compassion. Thus during the Hughes-Wilson campaign it was whispered about that Wilson was suf-

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fering from an inoperable cancer and that his physicians were agreed that he must die before inauguration day. Indeed, I had it from some one who had it directly from the President's physician. I own, it disturbed me, for it appeared that we should have to entrust the office to—what was the fellow's name?—anyway the Vice-President, and in the most perilous juncture of international affairs.

The other side does that sort of thing and so must our side. Anyway, no great harm is done. Probably very few votes are changed by the whole paraphernalia of misrepresentation and slander. When the election is over the unsavory mess dissipates to the clouds and offends no more.

But my whole argument appears to turn on men—or fails to turn on them. What elections are really about, it will be said, are issues. Are they indeed? What issues, bearing upon positive objectives, are before us now? Americanism vs. Bolshevism, some one says. Well those are nice terms: what do they mean in our actual American context? Unemployment relief? Both sides are for that; so also are both sides for recovery. Improving the position of the farmer? Both sides are for that. Both sides are for balancing the budget. Both sides are for restoring foreign trade. It is a matter of a little more or a little less, one type of method or mistake or another type. But by and large, whichever party wins it will have to try hard to do what the country needs and demands. Not merely what the country demands before election but what it will demand as occasion arises. That is why platform promises never mean anything. That is also the reason why there are never clean-cut lines between the parties in the intervals between elections. Though the Republicans may be in a majority in both houses it is seldom the case that an important measure is passed without Democratic votes and vice versa. Not by occasional elections but by constant murmurings of content or discontent does the American people keep its government responsive to its will.

So generally is this fact recognized that almost one-half of the qualified voters remain away from the polls. They know

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that the country will be equally safe in the hands of either party. Could there be a greater tribute to the excellence of our institutions?

That country is happiest where a partisan feeling needs to be heightened by make-believe. For this means that the government is habitually responsive to the demands of the great majority. When we Americans become really in earnest about politics, when every voter goes to the polls with the intent of defending seriously his threatened interests, then we may begin to fear riots and insurrection, furious repression and the dissolution of the American state.

But for the present let us enjoy to the fullest this wonderful experience in collective make-believe, this greatest show on earth. It is an art that is peculiarly American. European elections are either in dangerous earnest or they are patent and tasteless frauds. Our wholesome mixture of make-believe and real intent could have developed only where a generous natural endowment made great numbers of men, rich or poor, masters of their own fate, beholden to government only in the remotest contingencies. Europeans hate their governments or play sycophant to them. We for the most part stand at the side, fellow sovereignties, and comment on government action, "Well done" or "Rotten!" And in the contests for office, which really concern us hardly at all, we take sides ardently as we do in prize fights or yacht races. We must take sides if we are to enjoy the spectacle at all.

Occasionally to be sure you will encounter sunken-jawed men and beady-eyed women, persons of severely alarmed principle, who insist that the country is on the way to the dogs: the Bolsheviks are multiplying; they are plotting to blow up the Capitol; or the Fascists are behind every bush—did they not attempt to paint a swastika on Grant's Tomb? O ye rabbit-hearted Cassandras, come to the polls early on election day. Fall in with a laughing, yelling parade; listen to the Paul Bunyans proclaiming vast majorities; go to the square at night and follow the early returns. Stay there until you are fairly sure that

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your party has won—or lost. You will sleep late next morning and awaken with a confusing feeling of exultation or anguish undergoing deflation. Thank God it was one's head, not the U. S. A., that had been see-sawing or whirling around through the pre-election weeks. Our grand old spacious U. S. A., its river-patterned carpet of green pegged down to the solid foundations by those splendid rows of shining mountain peaks, moated by wide oceans against old-world follies and conflagrations. The U. S. A., exuberant in its productiveness, extravagant in drought and flood, in struggling winds and the thunderbolts of great Jove. Playground of titanic natural forces—why should not we its children play, too, in our own small way, one year in four, pretending that we ourselves are titans, selecting supertitans for the job of storming heaven or defending it? Between elections we are sober enough to watch the emerging occasion and to wire our Congressman to see that the republic take no harm, if he wishes even a gallery seat in the next great show.

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"And Sadly Teach"

State Requirements that Discourage Educated Persons from Teaching

VIRGINIA GILDERSLEEVE

AN odd situation is developing in the teaching profession, caused by changes which are being made by various states in the requirements for licenses to teach. The general tendency seems to be to discourage educated persons from teaching in our public schools; to insure having in these vitally important posts, on the whole, the less educated members of the educated class.

Of course the readers of this magazine would all agree that it is of the utmost importance to our country to have the best possible teachers in our public schools—the best human beings we can produce, educated, wise, alive, interesting, with a gift for teaching and sympathetic understanding of young people.

Whether we attract such human beings to want to teach in our public schools, and are able to select the best from among our candidates, depends to a very considerable extent on the requirements set up by the various state authorities for licenses to teach in the public schools. Are these requirements now fairly good and getting better? On the contrary, they seem, on the whole, to be rather bad and to be getting worse. So that it looks as if it might become harder and harder to get educated persons to teach in the public schools.

This sounds so absurd that I must make it clearer by a concrete, imaginary example, to illustrate the tendency against which I am protesting.

But let me first assert as emphatically as I can that I am *not*

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attacking in particular the New York requirements, as some persons have assumed from my previous utterances. I am attacking not any one state, but a general tendency evident in many of our states today. New York is by no means one of the worst in this respect. We have bright hopes that our State Education Department may soon make it even better. Perhaps I ought to explain also that my remarks apply for the most part rather more to High School than to Elementary School requirements.

Suppose you are running a Normal School in the small state of Blankdash, and have arranged your curriculum so that all your students take seven points of English Composition, three points of Hygiene, eleven points of American History and Government, nine points of Educational Psychology, seven points of History and Philosophy of Education, fourteen points of Practice Teaching, five points of Ethics—and so on through a mainly prescribed four-year curriculum. Then suppose that, convinced of the educational soundness of your particular curriculum as a training for teachers, you persuade the State Board of Education—or whatever its official name may be in the State of Blankdash—to pass a rule saying that all candidates for licenses to teach in the High Schools of Blankdash must have had, in their college or normal school course, seven points of English Composition, three points of Hygiene, etc., etc.—enumerating all the courses prescribed for students in the Blankdash State Normal School, but not prescribed, or indeed offered, in just this form and amount, in Liberalia College in the State of Blankdash, or indeed in any other college or any other normal school in the United States.

Well, when there is an opening for a teacher in a local High School, obviously the only persons who can qualify will be the graduates of your own local Normal School. Even if the most brilliant and promising member of the graduating class of Vassar should want to teach in that High School, she couldn't qualify—unless perhaps she should study somewhere for another year, and take two points of English and one point of Hygiene, and two points of Ethics and a lot of other fragmen-

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tary odds and ends that she hadn't happened to include in her undergraduate curriculum. She will not want to do that, but will turn her attention to some other field of work.

And obviously any young resident of the State of Blankdash who looks forward to teaching will probably go, not to the local college of Liberalia, or to Harvard or Radcliffe or Bryn Mawr, but to the State Normal School of Blankdash, which has what amounts to a stranglehold monopoly on the public school positions in that state.

If you protested to the State Board of Education of Blankdash they would probably say that they preferred their own local young people as teachers, anyway.

This case I have described is an imaginary one. I do not know of any actual instance quite so extreme. But it may exist; and the tendencies of the moment run in that direction.

The result is that *it seems to be rapidly becoming impossible for graduates of our best liberal arts colleges to teach in the public schools of this country*. This is a pity. These colleges, with all their faults, have many advantages. They are well endowed and equipped, they are rich in fine traditions, they attract many of the very best young men and women of the nation, and develop their minds and spirits so that when they graduate they are on the way to being unusually well-educated all-round human beings. Many of them want to teach. They can continue to find posts in the private schools; but apparently not in the public schools. Must we really shut out from our public school posts the best educated young men and women of the nation?

The causes of this situation are not quite as simple as my imaginary example implied. The increasing requirement of professional work—in theory and principles of education, in methods and in practice teaching—is due partly, no doubt, to the experience of School Boards with incompetent young college graduates who lacked a command of the technique of teaching. The Boards have naturally wanted to insure some really professional equipment in their new teachers.

Unfortunately, however, this large prescription of technical

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training is likely either to bar out young Bachelors of Arts altogether, or to force them to include in their undergraduate course so much professional work as to prevent their learning very much about the subject or subjects they expect to teach. If a postgraduate year of professional training were required, the temptation to thrust the technical work into the college curriculum would be avoided. This postgraduate requirement is already in force in some places.

At a recent meeting of the Association of Colleges and Universities of the State of New York in Albany, there was some interesting discussion of this question. Some speakers stressed the great difficulty of providing satisfactorily in the usual college of liberal arts the professional requirements specified. They lamented the fact that in colleges, universities and normal schools the required "education courses," intended to fire the students with the beauty and significance of the profession, were so often dull and damping and drove the best young scholars to other fields of work. They pointed out vigorously that the requirement of "practice teaching"—so sound in theory—was often impossible to carry out well and became almost a farce.

Most emphatically of all, the speakers protested that it was impossible to thrust down into the undergraduate liberal arts curriculum all this heavy professional requirement without seriously interfering with the student's acquiring some mastery of the *subject* or *subjects* he was going to teach, and interfering also, and very gravely, with his general education. A representative of the State Teachers Association explained convincingly that the teachers of today, to teach the subjects in the way required today, and to answer the demands of their pupils for light on the problems of today, felt acutely the need of much sound, fundamental, general education. The teachers urged the requirement of a "fifth year" of postgraduate work, following the Bachelor's degree, to contain a considerable portion of the professional training. An informal, unofficial vote was taken at this Albany meeting to show the "sense" of the assemblage and it proved to be overwhelmingly in favor of the "fifth year."

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There is another feature of the requirements for licenses which is very objectionable to the liberal arts college mind. I have illustrated it in my imaginary example, the State of Blankdash. This is the tendency to prescribe very definite subjects and numbers of points or hours covering a large part of the four years' college course.

We had an example of this in the New York City requirements for the license in Commercial Subjects announced a year or so ago. Barnard College and the School of Business of Columbia University discussed planning a joint program to meet these requirements. But it seemed too difficult. To meet them in her college course a student would have to know, from the moment she entered college as a freshman, that she wanted to teach Commercial Subjects in a High School. Of course it is generally quite impossible for a freshman to know what she will like best and be best able to do.

This very important truth is often overlooked by school authorities, who set up requirements so rigid and so extensive that to meet them satisfactorily the candidate ought to know almost from the cradle just where his destiny lies. By such a policy many of the most competent young people may be driven away from High School teaching.

Another example of the difficulty of meeting specific requirements is provided by the State of New Jersey, which recently demanded, among other things, that its High School teachers should have had *three points* of Health Education. Now it happens that Barnard College offers and requires of all its students as one of its two prescribed courses a two-point course in Hygiene, and offers no more. It is a particularly good course, I think; I feel sure there is no better in all the country. But today a Barnard graduate who wants to teach in New Jersey will have to go to a Summer Session or elsewhere and acquire somehow one more point of Hygiene.

If this sort of thing is multiplied by different states in different subjects, one can easily see what an intolerable situation results. Educational authorities often do not realize this, because

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they think of a college as having to meet only the requirements of the state in which it is located. They forget that in most of our best liberal arts colleges we have students from many states. That is one of our great educational advantages: we can offer our young people a chance to know friends from all over our own country and from nations beyond the seas. But we can't offer forty-eight, or even twenty-four, different courses in Hygiene to meet detailed requirements of different states.

We inevitably differ in this respect from State Normal Schools and colleges with a purely local constituency. But surely it is unwise to drive away from our public schools all graduates of colleges of this national type by setting up detailed requirements which they cannot meet. Is it not unwise also to drive away individuals who by study abroad or in some other unusual way have acquired an education better even than that which our colleges can give?

The detailed requirements of the sort I am lamenting will not drive away *all* candidates, of course. They will not drive away many of the mediocre ones, who will take extra years of study to qualify for a post. It is the *best* candidates who are driven away by such "catch" requirements. They can easily find work in private schools or in other fields.

A strange thing about some of these state requirements is that they seem to demand only "exposure" to so many hours of instruction. The college is sometimes merely to certify how many hundred hours the student has sat in the classroom, with no statement as to marks or evaluations of her own work or any other result of the exposure.

I said that if you complained to the authorities of some states that their requirements limited their candidates to their own State Normal School, they would no doubt reply that they preferred their own young people, anyway. This is a real element in the present situation. In hard times authorities not unnaturally want to take care of their own people. Lots of local families are hard up. The officials, conceiving of teaching positions as a sort of "dole," sometimes tend to distribute them to

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those of their own people who most need the money rather than to the most competent teachers who can best serve the children of the state. It is a very natural instinct in bitter days of need but, alas, a very perilous one for the schools of the nation.

The requiring of a lot of specific points or hours in certain subjects for licenses to teach, this growing tendency against which I am protesting, is, curiously enough, just contrary to the newest and most approved educational practice of the time. Does not that seem rather quaint? The drift in college admission policies, for example, has been just the other way. Many of the best schools and colleges have been endeavoring to stop merely adding up hours of "exposure" to instruction, and have been trying instead to set up tests of power and of achievement. The psychological and scholastic aptitude tests for admission to college, the reduction in the number of prescribed subjects, the abolition of prescribed courses for the degree, the comprehensive examinations and special honors courses are striking examples of this tendency. It is seen also in various professional fields and recently in the enlightened effort of the United States Civil Service Commission to set up a general test of power and qualification, without requiring specific subjects, for college graduates wishing to enter the government service.

It would seem reasonable to expect in the profession of education itself some similar effort to test the personality, the power, the general education and the professional aptitude of would-be teachers. There are indeed a few attempts of this sort, but on the whole the drift seems to be toward the strangely detailed, "catch" requirements that tend to discourage educated persons from trying to teach in our public schools.

The case is not going by default, however. A rising tide of protest is becoming evident. The great scholarly associations, for example, are lifting their voices, asserting that for a teacher of chemistry some really thorough knowledge of chemistry is primarily indispensable, or for a teacher of history some wide and sound knowledge of history.

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Prophecy and History

GEORGE BOAS

ALL times have been times of uncertainty and anguish, but there have been periods of western history when there was less ground for bewilderment than the present. For we see about us not merely change but destruction, and the destruction has attacked not merely things which were dear to us because customary but things for which we had fought and toiled. There was a kind of romantic sorrow over the fall of monarchies which was legitimate enough, but the degeneration of democracies is not the passing of something glamorous; it is the annihilation of something vital and necessary to social health. It is symptomatic not of the individual incapacities of rulers but of the general decay of common-sense and intelligence. Were the rise of dictators simply the substitution of one chief for another, one might lament but one would not despair. It is rather the substitution of the social ideal of submission for that of individual liberty and, though we never had perfect liberty, yet, as a guide to our political thinking, it was certainly more hopeful and encouraging than that which has taken its place.

No one could have foreseen the social changes which have occurred since the War, for their causes were too minute and weak when they arose to attract anyone's attention. As late as the end of 1923 Mr. E. P. Cheyney, then President of the American Historical Association, announced as the fourth "law of history" "a tendency for all government to come under the control of all the people. . . . There has been," he said, "a clear and, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a rapidly growing tendency towards the overthrowing or limitation of government carried on by a single individual. Autocratic monarchy has practically disappeared." In so far as Mr. Cheyney

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was predicting the fall of monarchies he was of course right; but in so far as he was predicting the spread of democracies he was tragically wrong. Nor was there any way for him to discover at that time evidence which might give him grounds for doubt. Mussolini was just beginning, Hitler was an obscure soap-box orator, Stalin was unknown to the western world. It has been suggested that the disappearance of the giant lizards was due to a little mammal's taste for dinosaur's eggs. Here was a possibly true cause for the extinction of a whole race of animals. Yet no one could have foreseen its efficacy until it was too late to do anything about it.

It is reflections of this type which make one wonder about the possibility of plotting our future. The horror of its uncertainty almost paralyses one who has work to do which he would like to see mature, and children to educate and to provide for. Our new *mal de siècle* is not a romantic anguish about our inner lives but a definite worry about specific practical things, like the future of our savings, the best education for our sons and daughters, the conservation of our religion and culture. We turn to history to find an answer to such questions as a doctor turns to the history of his patient.

What we are asking for is the technic of prophecy. We know that in certain fields, astronomy, economics, geology, and medicine, prophecy is common and usually reliable. Why should not the same thing be true of history?

There are four methods of prophecy. They are prophecy from cause to effect, from natural rhythms and cycles, from statistical probabilities, from revelation or inspiration. We are constantly using the first three of these methods in daily life, as when we water plants to make them grow, lay in food for the winter, and gamble intelligently. The fourth method would seem less available to most of us, and its very nature prevents any reasonable analysis of it. But as for the others, applied science never hesitates to utilize the causal law for prediction, the almanacs are almost entirely dependent on natural rhythms and cycles, and insurance companies gamble successfully on the basis

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of statistical probability. All this is obvious and requires no amplification. The question which cannot fail to annoy one is why, when prediction is so reliable in the fields mentioned, it is absurdly unreliable in history.

The answer is simple.

History may be distinguished from other studies as the narrative description of isolable events. Thus biography is history but human biology is not; "the Causes of the American Revolution" is history but the etiology of revolution is not; the development of the Greek language is history but semantics is not. Hence even when we have historical science we do not have history, if by "history" we denote the subject-matter of books like Gibbon's *Decline and Fall.*

One can put the matter even more tritely, but perhaps more accurately, by saying that the sciences are interested in what things have in common; history is interested in what things do not have in common. Science hopes to erect a set of universally true propositions — which it calls "laws" — and by "universally true" it means "true for the most part under controlled conditions." How it succeeds in obtaining such propositions is one of the most romantic stories that can be told but is irrelevant here. By hook or by crook it succeeds in setting them up and when individual exceptions occur they can always be — and quite properly are — explained away. The achievement of science, then, is in part the ability to speak of "falling bodies" or "the death rate" or "perfect gases" without any regard for peculiar or individual cases. But it is precisely the peculiar or individual case which is of interest to the historian.

Thus a physicist will tell you that if you jump off a building you will hit the ground with a calculable impact, but he would treat you quite rightly as an idiot if you were to reply "Oh no, I shouldn't, for I could always carry a parachute," or "I could arrange to have the Fire Department hold a net for me down below." Analogous things might happen to any falling body, as when meteoric rock is consumed by friction or a falling icicle bounces upon an awning. If science were to talk about such things

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it would never get anywhere, for it is by its technic of abstraction and generalization that it proceeds at all.

It will be noticed that the first three methods of prediction all demand generalization. Causal laws do not say "This particular dated event is caused by that particular dated and antecedent event," i.e., "If the first President of the United States went out in the cold, he caught pneumonia." It says that pneumonia—*other things being equal*—is caused by a chill. (I am obviously simplifying what it actually says.) The particular chill of George Washington is of interest to science as an example of chills-in-general, of interest to an historian as a specific dated event.

It might be possible to select out of the mass of historical events certain which would permit of generalization, such as wars, revolutions, Republican presidential victories, and tariff changes, and thus set up causal laws as the basis of prediction. Attempts of this kind have frequently been made and the results—if we may judge from magazine articles and propagandist speeches—have been persuasive. Thus we have a number of theories about the causes of war among which the theory of economic imperialism is the most popular today. We are told continually that, given economic rivalry of sufficient intensity between two nations, war will result. We can thus predict wars.

When this theory is applied to past wars it seems to work very well. Thus the American Revolution appears to have been "really" caused by the economic rivalry between the Colonies and England and the independence sought to have been an economic independence. The Civil War is seen not to have been a battle to free the slaves or retain the federal union but a battle between northern finance and manufacture and southern agriculture. But after the Revolution the economic rivalry between England and America grew rather than declined, and we have not fought England since 1812. After the Civil War the South went right on being agricultural and the North financial and industrial and no one has given a serious thought to the possibility of war between the two. Why, if the cause is present, is the effect so slow to appear?

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One could squirm out of the difficulty by emphasizing the question-begging phrase "of sufficient intensity." Had the rivalry been sufficiently intense, war would have resulted. But surely no one in his senses will argue in that fashion, for aside from the fallacy involved there would be no way of predicting a war until the war had occurred and then it would be too late.

The real difficulty is that the very things which make the application of any scientific generalization difficult operate with still greater force in history. Feathers fall like lead in a vacuum, but the vacuum is found only in the laboratory — which is the field of the scientist — not outside it. Thus it may be true that economic rivalry will produce a war in a theoretical economic vacuum but this vacuum is not to be found even in a laboratory. Any number of things may happen (and usually do) to temper the operation of the cause.

The following prophecy is a notorious case in point. It was made by Josiah Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, in the latter part of the 18th century.

> As to the future grandeur of America, and its being a rising empire under one head, whether republican or monarchical, it is one of the idlest and most visionary notions that ever was conceived by writers of romance. The mutual antipathies and clashing interests of the Americans, their difference of governments, habitudes, and manners, indicate that they will have no centre of union and no common interest. They never can be united into one compact empire under any species of government whatever; a disunited people till the end of time, suspicious and distrustful of each other, they will be divided and subdivided into little commonwealths or principalities, according to natural boundaries, by great bays of the sea, and by vast rivers, lakes, and ridges of mountains.

As John Fiske pointed out in his discussion of this prophecy, Tucker could not have foreseen that new means of communication would level the geographical barriers which he believed would keep the Americans divided. There was literally no way at the end of the 18th century to foresee this trend of invention, and though the prophet now seems to have spoken foolishly his weakness was not logic but imagination. For logically he was

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right and, had he been dealing with a problem of science, the actual occurrence of inventions could not have disproved his conclusions any more than the invention of nets to catch trapeze artists disproves the law of falling bodies.

Similar remarks can be made about the other bases of prophecy. Natural rhythms and cycles allow one to predict in astronomy and sometimes in biology, because one is dealing with events which can be isolated and duplicated. The tides, for instance, can be calculated by a machine and we know how much to add or substract for latitudes different from that which we have accepted as a standard. But human history contains no such events. The very concept of a nation, which is used in such titles as "The History of the United States," is an abstraction. The use of an abstraction is necessary in science; it is vicious in history if we wish to write scientific history. For what nation ever existed whose history was not determined in part by that of its neighbors? To illustrate my point by an analogy, an individual's biography is in part an abstraction. Scientifically one may predict that any individual's life will terminate — at least as far as this planet is concerned — in death. But how any specific individual will meet his death is beyond conjecture.

The analogy is imperfect, however, because one actually can isolate in thought and in perception a single individual. But a nation has not even that amount of individuality. It may have certain more or less definite geographical boundaries but even they shift from century to century. Consequently historians resort to focussing their attention upon political organizations and the growth and decay of their sovereignty. Beyond this now outmoded device there is nothing corresponding to the United States, England, or France to which things happen as things happen to a falling stone or to a human body. Countries are to a large extent the things that happen to them. Thus there was no 15th century Italy and the Renaissance; 15th century Italy was in part identical with the Renaissance; the Renaissance was something that went on in certain Italian cities. Geographical location is, to be sure, different from what takes place in it. But

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it is only in that sense that we can speak significantly of a country and its history, as we speak in philosophical language of a substance and its attributes. Though the metaphor is harmless when known to be a metaphor it may become ruinous to clear thinking when it is taken as literal description of fact.

This appears very clearly in prophecy when nations are supposed to follow certain rhythms, when historical laws, such as "the swing of the pendulum," Adams's law of degradation, Spengler's cyclical law of birth and death, are taken seriously. At the present time there is much talk of the decay of western civilization and the exhaustion of Europe. It is undoubtedly true that western civilization will be different in the future from what it has been in the past; if there were no change there would be no history. But that there is any "culture" to decay is superstition. And though many people think that any change is a change for the worse there are no grounds for thinking that the things which people will be doing in the Occident in the next century will be any worse than what they have been doing in this. They may indeed be worse but there is no "law" to force us to believe so. To formulate such a law would require the discovery of a thing called "western civilization" or "Europe," not identical with what people have been doing in the Occident and undergoing certain definite changes by stages which can be dated.

It should be furthermore noticed that when historians speak of the decay of cultures, the death of civilizations, the fall of empires, they do not mean that the changes which took place constituted an actual death of a people — except when that people was literally wiped out or amalgamated with others after a dispersion. What they mean is that changes took place which were to all intents and purposes utterly unlike what existed before and that they, the historians, dislike them. Rome may be said to have "fallen" in any century you please, from the accession of Augustus to that of Mussolini. But I doubt whether any inhabitant of Rome, except those unpleasantly affected by the changes which were taking place, ever thought of their civilization as in a state of decay. The exception is of course of the great-

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est importance, for historians are frequently of the group to be unpleasantly affected by the changes they deplore. But should they be pleasantly affected by those changes they would write the history of a new growth, not of a decay.

At the present time we can either speak of the death or of the birth of American civilization as going on under our eyes. It all depends upon the value we place upon the changes we observe. For each of them can be traced as far back as we care to go, since nothing is spontaneously generated. Thus, to return to our dinosaurs, if their disappearance is attributable to a little mammal's fondness for dinosaur's eggs, they began to disappear, one might say, as soon as God began to think about making mammals. God alone at that time could have predicted the full effect of His creation and, though that effect was in some sense of the word inevitable, it would be absurd to argue that there was a principle of extinction in the Saurian blood which must fulfil itself sooner or later. The extinction was due to very definite causes which might or might not have occurred. There was no question of rhythms, cycles, or trends, as is shown by the fact that though the so-called Age of Reptiles is over, there are plenty of reptiles left, occupying the position in natural history, one might say, of modern Egyptians or Babylonians in political.

If the prophet turn in despair to the laws of probability he is no better off. Statistics allow us to discuss groups but say nothing of individuals. The first lesson one learns in statistics is that though four out of every five people have pyorrhea, the only way to tell which four have it is to look into their mouths. Any attempt to apply the laws of probability to specific future events is a form of the gambler's fallacy. Furthermore it is theoretically possible to calculate the probability of any event whatsoever if the necessary data are obtainable. Thus the occurrence of royal flushes or twenty heads in a string or death at the age of 100 is very rare; but it can be calculated. And though it is foolish to bet on the occurrence of such events they sometimes happen. Statistically, "impossible" is either meaningless or means "exceedingly rare." But how rare is exceedingly rare?

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Now just as one would be foolish to bet on the occurrence of an exceedingly rare event, so one would be foolish to prophesy the improbable. Prophecies, unless they are based on revelation, have to be plausible. But events do not have to be plausible; they simply occur. It was not plausible that the whole world would go to war in 1914, or that a people presumably respectful of science and oozing with *Gemüthlichkeit* should joyfully submit to a government by paranoiacs, or that the United States should go off the gold standard. People who prophesied such things usually did so on bad grounds, just as Choiseul's famous prophecy of the American Revolution was based on wrong reasons. In 1926 Gurdin Edwards, of the American Bankers' Association, said that "opposition to the gold standard, which for several years following the War threatened to grow into a well-nigh world-wide movement in favor of the permanent abandonment of gold for monetary uses, appeared to be virtually non-existent except as a matter of academic theory and discussion." We know what happened in England five years later. The conditions which made Ramsay MacDonald's National Government do ten days after its election what it had been elected not to do were undoubtedly in germ in 1926. But it was a bad bet to put your money on their fruition. This was simply one of those cases where a long-shot came in first.

There is of course a moral to my tale. The moral is that if historians wish to prophesy, they had best pray for divine inspiration and forgo the apparatus of science. For the interconnections of events are so complex and times are always so different that there is nothing to generalize from and consequently no material for scientific manipulation. History can, at any rate in theory, tell us how the present came to be but it can tell us nothing of the future.

If there are no historical laws nothing is inevitable in the sense that human beings play no part in determining what their future is to be. Even the dialectical materialists believe in propaganda and seem to think that human effort will make the inevitable future a bit more inevitable. The argument from inevitability has,

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of course, great psychological force, but the very behavior of its proponents shows that they do not take it seriously. And indeed it would be hard to believe that the only thing which does not affect human affairs is human beings themselves. If, then, getting-into-the-movement changes the future, the human will — or some more hard-boiled term, if you prefer — is not entirely impotent, and the real lesson to be learned from history is not what is going to be but how to get what you want. At the present time the parties of the right, unimpeded by any theories of historical development, utilize psychological forces to the fullest extent, and in Germany, Italy, America, and possibly England have an easy victory over their opponents on the left. They have, moreover, the great advantage of appearing to retain, or return to, the *status quo*, whereas the parties on the left have only hope in their favor. Yet hope, when conditions get bad enough and when the cement of hatred hardens the ranks of the hopeful, can itself be a potent source of change, and there is no telling at the present time which side will win out.

All that one can say is that the victory will not be due to law but to human effort, to the best manipulation of the people, to the "appeal" of the end in sight. It is the understanding of that fact which contains the seed of any party's success. The tragic irony of the situation is that the only people incapable of using it are those who would use it most equitably and reasonably. For if there is any end of minimum "appeal" it is the end of justice and liberty, not as slogans but as programs.

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"The Immortal Memory"

DELANCEY FERGUSON

ONCE a year the two-and-seventy minority sects of the Scottish Kirk lay aside their animosities, Highlander and Lowlander strike hands, Paisley and Aberdeen lie down together. From the Orkneys to Tasmania, from Atlanta to Calcutta, as regularly as the 25th of January comes round the Scots drink to the immortal memory of Robert Burns.

The outside world, nourished on Scotch stories, may see nothing noteworthy in a Scotsman's drinking, with or without a toast. But what distinguishes the ceremonies of January 25th from other alcoholic occasions is their religious fervor. Burns worship is definitely a minor religion, well established in the second stage of cult development as defined by the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics:* "The ritualization of the original ceremonies, songs, or prayers, accompanied by social recognition." Forms and ceremonies are common to all kinds of organizations; nationalism is a frequent enough factor in cult development; nevertheless the Burns cult is unique. It centers, not around a "moral or mystical teacher" but around a modern poet who never claimed to be either the one or the other and who would have been the first to repudiate such exaltation.

Most other societies with literary names are composed of people interested in critical study. One does not join the Pepys Society or the E. E. T. S. unless one wants to investigate Pepys or Early English texts; it is even probable that many members of the Browning Societies in their heyday paid some attention to Browning's poems. But the Burnsians are not students, either lay or professional; they are a cult. Cult members subscribe to certain orthodox interpretations of their founder and his writings and show marked hostility to views which challenge any part of that orthodoxy. A Christian Scientist does not applaud critical

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investigation of the sources of Mrs. Eddy's doctrines, a Buchmanite would not endorse a Freudian interpretation of his house-parties, a Neapolitan priest would frown on the suggestion of applying the Wassermann test to the blood of St. Januarius. So the true Burnsians not only repudiate all critical inquiry into such arcana as the story of Highland Mary but are inclined to look with suspicious eye on almost any unemotional examination of the Poet (the best Burnsians prefer the upper-case "P") and his work. Their worship consists in the voicing or applauding of certain established doctrines and above all in the ceremonial conduct of a ritual meal, the Birthday Dinner.

Like all other religious functions a Birthday Dinner must be witnessed to be appreciated. Written words cannot convey the requisite emotional voltage. The Burns cult, like those of Mithras and the Freemasons, is male. Though certain of the weaker American and Canadian organizations admit women to their public ceremonies and there are even a few female clubs in Scotland these groups are exceptional if not actually heretical. Besides being male the diners are of course Scottish or of Scottish extraction and the dinner is their chance to give free vent to sentimentality unchecked by the calmer and more realistic eyes and tongues of their wives. No reader of Barrie, of A. A. Milne, of Ian Maclaren, needs to be reminded that Scots sentiment is rich and treacly. Such being the case it was inevitable that if the national sentiment was to focus on a national writer that writer should be Burns. He alone possessed the necessary combination of emotional richness, quotability and romantic personality. Allan Ramsay was too dull, David Hume too intellectual and too much given to debunking. Scott's writings were as popular as Burns's but the man himself was too sober and business-like to appeal to the imagination. Moreover Burns had risen from the ranks of the peasantry. His story could flatter the self-esteem of thousands of his countrymen who could admire the aristocratic Sir Walter only from afar.

Burns Clubs exist for all ranks and purses from the lower middle class upward; in democratic America they naturally tend

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to be swankier than in Scotland. Poorer folk may have to modify some of the ceremonial practices of the richer but the spirit of the thing is the same everywhere. All the worshipers appear in their best clothes and are played in to dinner by a piper, or a pair of pipers, in full Highland costume—a dress which most Lowlanders in Burns's day still viewed about as cordially as Andrew Jackson regarded a British uniform. If a clergyman is present he says grace, but clergyman or no the invocation must conclude with Burns's "Some hae meat an' canna eat." Suitable quotations likewise embellish the menu-card, on which the first course must be either cockie-leekie or Scotch broth. The problem of the proper wine for each course, so distressing to American hostesses since repeal, never disturbs a Burns Club. They stick single-heartedly to Scotch whisky—duly quoting their poet's praise of it but resolutely ignoring the fact that he wrote oftener, and more enthusiastically, in praise of malt liquor than he ever did of spirits. But the holy writ of every cult undergoes the same kind of selective application.

The high place in the dietetic portion of the feast is the elevation of the haggis, heralded by the pipers in full skirl. The waiter, bearing the platter above his head, circles the table in the wake of the pipers and then deposits his reeking burden before the chairman who recites over it the appropriate stanzas of Burns's ode. Where the ceremony is rightly performed the edible part of the thing is still enclosed in the portion of the sheep's innards in which it was boiled but some American clubs are degenerate enough to have it brought on already peeled. No one has ever succeeded in telling an outlander what haggis tastes like. It shares with Scotch theology and the Scotch climate the responsibility for having made whisky a necessary of human survival north of the Tweed.

The remainder of the meal is an anticlimax. Burns never hymned roasts, salads, or desserts, so the ritual aspects are left in abeyance until the chairman, after the usual output of introductory platitudes, calls on the speaker of the evening to respond to the toast, "The Immortal Memory of Robert Burns."

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These speeches follow set patterns. If the speaker be a clergyman he may concentrate on proving that Burns—whose religion, so far as he had any, was the sentimental deism of the 18th century—was a genuine Christian. Another favorite is Burns's love of Nature—which seldom interested him at all except as a background for human figures, preferably female. The abundant quotations all derive from the more mawkish poems, such as "The Cotter's Saturday Night," "To a Mouse," "To a Mountain Daisy," "To Mary in Heaven." It would almost be a breach of etiquette to cite "The Jolly Beggars" or "Holy Willie's Prayer." (As the whisky begins to take hold a few of the more graceless diners may entertain each other by sotto voce repetition of choice bits—usually not by Burns—from *The Merry Muses* and other uncanonical sources, but these are never uttered aloud.) The most popular pattern of all, however, especially in America, extols Burns as the Bard of Humanity and Democracy and ends on a peroration like this:

When we celebrate the birthday of Robert Burns, we celebrate the spirit of America, for America is builded on the democracy of the Lord's Prayer, and the Sermon on the Mount; and Robert Burns, though frail and sin-worn, grasped the vision of the infinite and breathed the social and democratic gospel of the great prophet of men. He ranks next to the Savior in influence for the good of humanity. Love is tenderer because of his singing of it. Beauty is fairer because of his vision of it. Humanity is wiser because of his revelation of it. Men have walked with a braver-heartedness because of the melody of his marching music, which made the poor forget their oppression and the rich remember the humane possibilities of prosperity. All the world is in his soul: the sordid things of it; the hopes and despairs of it; the melody of the woodlands; the beauty of the meadow flowers; the glamor of earth, and sky, and running water, everywhere. Burns has made millions happy and has made millions smile, yet his life was a tragedy. He was a man of sorrows, and he was acquainted with grief. Even the mouse and the daisy were not without his tenderness. His very sincerity raised him to the catholic and universal level. He loved Scotland and everything that God had made. He is the Bard of the Beating Heart. All he has written throbs with brotherhood. Where liberty was, there was Robert Burns.

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Let no reader too hastily accuse me of misrepresentation or burlesque. Every sentence I have used was not only spoken at some Burns celebration but was afterwards committed to print in official publications. The cult wants its oratory thick and slab. Anything quiet and restrained is a disappointment; anything critical is anathema. I have made Birthday speeches myself.

Knowing something of the traditions of one club I was invited to address, and being temperamentally unfit for baroque eloquence, I tried to compromise by presenting, with all the emphasis I could command, the testimony which refutes the grosser charges of misconduct and neglect of duty brought against Burns in his last years. I thought I had portrayed a human and essentially admirable person making a brave fight against adversity and winning the love and respect of the people who knew him best and had the best reasons for judging him impartially. When I sat down after what I considered an impassioned defence of Burns the man, an old gentleman next me murmured, "But we love Bobbie Burns, for a' that!"

At last, when sentiment and whisky are both on the ebb, all diners who are able link hands as they vociferate "Auld Lang Syne"—usually in so garbled a form that twice in recent years the official organ of the Burns Federation has gone on record in protest against such solecisms as Anglicising the words, corrupting an uncomprehended idiom into "willy-waught," and ousting the proper refrain, "For auld lang syne," by "the breathless scurry of 'For the days of auld lang syne.' " With that valediction the diners go home, most of them to read nothing, hear nothing, by or about Burns, until the next Birthday comes round.

The cult started five years after the poet's death, when a group of his admirers in Greenock organized the first Burns Club. Paisley and Kilmarnock followed suit and thereafter the fashion spread swiftly, first through Scotland and then among Scotsmen in the rest of the English-speaking world. Its trail is marked by the erection to Burns's memory of more, and worse,

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statues and monuments than commemorate any other British individual with the possible exception of Albert the Prince Consort. What Burns would have thought of this giving of stones for bread we know. His remarks about genteel Edinburgh's treatment of his unhappy forerunner Fergusson did much to convince the capital that Burns lacked the humility which beseems a peasant. He would approve the conduct of the few clubs which have endowed hospital beds and made other charitable contributions but the only separate Burns Memorial which would have his unqualified endorsement is the Homes for the Aged at Mauchline. Here a series of endowed cottages enables indigent couples to spend their last days in moderate decency and comfort. The Mauchline example has never been imitated elsewhere.

In 1885 the Kilmarnock Club took the lead in organizing the Federation of Burns Clubs, which in turn in 1892 began to publish the annual *Burns Chronicle*. This journal is supposed not only to report the activities of the Clubs but to summarize the year's contributions to the study of the Poet. The issue for 1935 lists 287 federated clubs; 500 have belonged at some time during the Federation's half-century of existence. And even this number, of course, represents only a fraction of the innumerable Scottish societies which more or less regularly celebrate the Birthday.

With so strong an organization one might expect the Federation to have backed some notable publications. In fact the *Chronicle* is its only work, apart from a few trifling reprints. For some years past the journal has been ably edited, with the percentage of eulogistic tripe held to a minimum, but for decades it was given over mainly to Birthday addresses and to the lucubrations of local antiquaries on such topics as "Burns in Upper Nithsdale" and "Burns in Stirlingshire." Most of the serious work on the poet has been done by outsiders, sometimes amid bitter opposition from cult members. The Centenary Edition, for example, is the one really scholarly text of the poems, most other editions being the work of enthusiastic amateurs or

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well-meaning clergymen. Because T. F. Henderson brought to bear on the origins of Burns's songs his unrivaled knowledge of traditional Scottish literature, and because W. E. Henley judged Highland Mary according to the few facts available and not according to the mythology which has grown up around her, professional Burnsians greeted the Centenary Edition with a torrent of ingenious execration to be matched in its generation only by the abuse showered upon Ibsen when *Ghosts* and *A Doll's House* were first performed in London. The same holds true of later work. J. C. Dick's edition of the *Songs*, which in its special field outranks even the Centenary, had no aid from the cult. Franklin Snyder's scholarly *Life of Burns*, like the only tolerably complete edition of the poet's letters, is the work of an outsider, an American at that. Catherine Carswell's romantic biography was treated as 19th century evangelists treated Tom Paine.

Mrs. Carswell fought back and accused the Federation of suppressing important documents. No bystander can presume to judge what is suppression and what is merely delay. The British, in literary projects as in some other matters, occasionally fail to distinguish between human and geological time. The letters of John Syme round which the controversy centered are now being printed—somewhat expurgated—in the *Chronicle*. In passing, however, it may be noted that a legal document exists which proves that Elizabeth Paton, Burns's first mistress, threatened to sue him after the Kilmarnock *Poems* had brought him funds enough to make it worth her while and had to be bought off. The existence of the paper has been known for forty years but when, in December of 1933, it finally got into print it was not in the *Burns Chronicle* but—of all places—in William Lyon Phelps's department in *Scribner's*.

At any rate if one wants to learn about Burns it is usually waste of time to apply to a Burns Club. Of this the records of the Federation itself are proof enough. An attempt made in 1931 to get each Federated Club to subscribe for at least five copies of the *Chronicle*—at a cost of two shillings a copy—was

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voted down by more than two to one, and at last report 137 member clubs out of 287 had failed to take even one copy apiece. A few of the older clubs, notably that at Irvine in Ayrshire, possess valuable authentic manuscripts. Plenty of others cherish what they describe as manuscripts. On examination these usually prove to be lithographs or else obvious fakes too transparent even to be dignified as forgeries. Even noted collectors have proved strangely gullible. Men reputed to be Burns specialists were—and are—repeatedly duped by the fabrications of "Antique" Smith. I once saw a Scotsman's collection which included a manuscript of the "Verses on the Destruction of the Woods near Drumlanrig." I ventured to remark that the writing was different from Burns's ordinary hand. Lowering his voice the owner took me into his confidence: "Ye see, Robbie wrote thon when he was drunk." Inasmuch as Henry Mackenzie wrote the stanzas two years after Burns's death the theory postulated a disembodied hangover which might have interested the Psychic Researchers. But I did not tell this to the owner. After all, Mackenzie's avowal of his authorship has been in print for only about a quarter-century.

But alleged manuscripts are not the only relics which worshipers cherish. Enough of Burns's walking-sticks exist to have reforested Scotland had they been allowed to grow. An old gentleman whom I met in Edinburgh preserved, in a specially built case, the windowsash from the poet's lodging in St. James's Square. At the Centenary Exhibiton in Glasgow in 1896 the relics shown included a "piece of wood which formed part of the flooring under the bed on which Burns died," a segment of a tree from Ballochmyle Wood (where Burns once composed a song), and tongs from the Globe Inn, Dumfries, which he was alleged to have used. The poet's touch, moreover, can sanctify at a distance. Mementos of people, real or fictitious, whom Burns met or mentioned are precious too. The nightdresses, apron and scissors of Souter Johnie's wife, the razor and tobacco pouch of the James Humphry whom the poet once called "a bletherin' bitch," even the "mallet used by John Richardson,

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auctioneer, at the sale of the Poet's furniture" were displayed for the edification of the faithful. Indeed not even his remote touch is needed: the exhibits included a "bundle of flax, spun in 1793." Mere origin in the same century is enough, apparently, to constitute a relic of Burns. To find anything surpassing the relic section of the Centenary Exhibition one must visit the show of Napoleon's old clothes and dirty linen which the French maintain at Malmaison. Napoleon-worship also is a national cult.

Minor aspects of the cult must be passed over. The nature and quality of the verse inspired by, and addressed to, Burns cannot be shown by brief quotation nor does space permit discussion of such a dogma as the immaculate concept of Highland Mary. Besides, as a Burnsian once said to me when I suggested that most of the traditions about her are poorly substantiated, "We mustn't touch Mary Campbell! We must keep her for an ideal." It is more to the point to wonder what Burns himself would have thought of his followers.

The nearest he ever came to experiencing the cult was probably at that great Masonic meeting on January 13, 1787 when the Master of the Grand Lodge of Scotland staggered the poet by proposing the toast, "Caledonia, and Caledonia's Bard, Brother Burns!," amid "multiplied honors and repeated acclamations." Burns liked it. He would have been more, or less, than human if he hadn't. He had a poet's appetite for flattery —in other words he could take a lot. But he was also a man of singular and impartial honesty about, and with, himself. He had no false modesty. He admitted frankly that he was a better poet and had a better mind than the eminent Hugh Blair. But nothing palled on him more quickly than unintelligent adulation. (The journal of his Border tour is a crescendo of boredom as one corporation or Mason lodge after another conferred honors, as one complacent country gentleman after another revealed total ignorance of what poetry really was.) He loved a convivial evening with jolly and uninhibited cronies better than

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he loved anything else in the world except a tryst with a girl. And he was no snob in his choice of company. All he asked of any man, gentle or simple, was that he be himself, without pretense.

That was the standard he set for himself. He was frank, said the woman who understood him best, in the avowal of his errors. He never hesitated to admit that his drinking and fornicating were scarcely ideals for the young; his most didactic epistle ends with the smiling hope that the advice may profit his friend more than it ever did the adviser. Insofar as his worshipers were merely mealy-mouthed where he was outspoken they would only amuse him. His sins and shortcomings as a man, he would know, do not matter beside his achievement as a poet. But when the cult not only slobbers over his sins but exalts the weakest part of his poetry his very soul would scunner.

The Birthday ballyhoo is equally unfair to Burns as man, as poet and as Scot. He knew well enough there were two strands in his poetry—the rich popular tradition of Scotland and the genteel overlay of 18th century England. The poet who matters is the author of "Tam o' Shanter," "The Jolly Beggars," and "Holy Willie"; the author of "The Cotter's Saturday Night" and the other poems beloved of Birthday orators is a sterile hybrid produced by inseminating an impressionable and imperfectly educated mind with the sentimentalism of Henry Mackenzie and William Shenstone. The real Burns was not the dropper of tears over plowed-under weeds but the man who sat by farmers' ingles and on ale-house benches listening to the racy, earthy talk of his people and storing his mind with old songs and ballads and with the rich sayings which occasionally spice his letters. He was not ashamed of being a Scottish peasant, the heir of all the picturesque and frequently bawdy tradition of Scottish folk literature. Nor was the man who wrote "But yet the light which led astray was light from Heaven" ashamed of his human nature. But his worshipers are ashamed of him.

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Entangled in the Open Door

STEPHEN DUGGAN

DURING the past three years almost every magazine of importance in the United States has asked: Must we fight Japan? And many of them have answered the question in the affirmative. In the light of our own interests and the peace of the world, what ought the answer to be?

As the 19th century drew to a close it appeared as if the predatory European powers were about to divide up China among themselves as they had done with Africa a short time before. Now China in 1900 was an almost unknown area. It was supposed to contain immense natural resources of oil, coal, and iron. Moreover it was then assumed that when that immense population of supposedly 400,000,000 would be really opened to the commerce of the world it would provide a most lucrative market. In order that we might not be shut out from such a market or prevented from securing our share of China's natural resources by its division into spheres of influence our Secretary of State, John Hay, issued a note in 1899 to all the Powers concerned requesting them to agree that in all their spheres of influence in China there would be an open door for the nationals of all countries to trade with the Chinese upon equal terms. With the exception of Great Britain, the free trade country, which had the greatest share in the trade of China, the Powers did not want to accept the note. No Power, however, wished to offend the United States which had shown unexpected strength in the war with Spain only the year before and, moreover, had become an Asiatic power as a result of securing the Philippines. Hence all, including Japan, accepted the principle of the Open Door—most of them with great reluctance. Moreover, down to the Manchurian crisis of 1931, they fulfilled their promise. On July 3, 1900 Mr. Hay issued another Note to the Powers advocating the administrative integrity of China. The Open Door, the political independence

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and the administrative integrity of China have comprised the elements of our Far Eastern policy ever since. With the passage of time the United States became more and more regarded as the guardian of China.

But ever since the day of John Hay Japan has increasingly insisted that nearness to China, and after the Chinese Revolution of 1912 the chronic disorders in China due to fighting war lords, gave Japan the right to assert an Asiatic Monroe Doctrine. Japanese publicists and the Japanese government insist that Japan has a position in the Far East comparable to that of the United States in the western hemisphere. They maintain that in driving the Chinese government out of Manchuria they were destroying a neighborhood nuisance just as the American government did when it drove the Spanish government from Cuba in 1898, and that in "recognizing" the independence of Manchukuo they had the precedent of American action in recognizing the independence of Panama which they consider was stimulated in a way analogous to the independence of Manchukuo. It is useless for us to point out that our Monroe Doctrine is solely a principle of self-defense, restricted to opposing the seizure of territory or political control in the American hemisphere by a non-American state, and that it does not imply either political control or economic privilege. The Japanese fasten their attention upon the similarities, not the contrasts. They insist that the self-defensive element is much more real in the case of Japan and Manchuria on all grounds, including her admitted conventional interest, than is the case of the United States under the Monroe Doctrine toward Brazil, Argentina, Chile or Peru.

Nor do they hesitate to point to past pronouncements upon the part of American statesmen to justify their position. In 1905 Theodore Roosevelt suggested to Viscount Kaneko the establishment of a Japanese Monroe Doctrine for Asia; Secretary Lansing in 1917 recognized that "Japan has special interests in China, particularly in the part to which her possessions are contiguous"; Ambassador Castle in 1930 said that "Japan

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must be and will be the guardian of peace in the Pacific" which sounds very much like the "police power doctrine" that Theodore Roosevelt announced in 1905 with reference to Latin America. These pronouncements, which were intended to refer to the industrial and commercial advantages in China that geographical propinquity gave to Japan and not to aggressive action and political control, have a different meaning for the Japanese. They refer with approval to Article XXI of the Covenant of the League of Nations.[1] "The League of Nations Covenant very wisely provides that regional understandings shall be respected," said Count Uchida, the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, on February 21, 1933.

The fact is that despite our philanthropic and educational interests in China our primary interest is economic. We hold first place in China's foreign trade, taking 12 per cent of her exports and providing 25 per cent of her imports. Japan has second place but Japan's interest is primarily strategic. In observing the activities of the British fleet in the Mediterranean we have recently had impressed upon us the part played by strategic considerations in the policy of a nation. The Japanese insist that their position on the mainland is not only necessary for the maintenance of their supply of food and raw materials but for their very existence as a nation as well as for the peace of the Far East. They insist that the reappearance of a Great Power there, as a menace, is always possible. A decade ago Russia seemed to be of little consequence as a factor in the Far East. Today she is regarded as a real danger to Japan. There may be others. Potentially there are. Hence just as the United States controlled American revolutions in the past and objected to an attempt by any other country to interfere in the disturbed Caribbean area, so Japan seeks the sole right to maintain peace and order in the Far East, without attempts at interference from any other powers. The degree of resentment that that position

[1] "Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace."

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arouses in China is comparable to the resentment roused in Latin America by the announcement of President Theodore Roosevelt's policy of the "Big Stick" in 1905.

Anyone familiar with the facts of the Manchurian crisis of 1931 is aware, today at least, that neither the United States nor the League of Nations made sufficient allowance for the Japanese side at the outset of the dispute. Nor had they sensed sufficiently the dangers inherent in the previous policy of pin pricks and irritations pursued by the Chinese in Manchuria. The crisis taught the Japanese a great lesson, viz., that as a result of the division of opinion among the Great Powers and consequent weakness of the League of Nations, especially with the United States outside the League, there was no reason why the Japanese should not realize the objective they had set before themselves in 1915, an objective embodied in the Twenty-One Demands. They had in 1922 temporarily to yield on these because of an aroused world public opinion which they deemed wise not to flout. In 1932, fortified with the knowledge that in all probability no one would interfere with them, they pursued their policy ruthlessly. They set up the puppet state of Manchukuo, annexed Jehol to it, have now moved south of the Great Wall into China proper, and have assumed control of the Chinese province of Hopei, including Peiping and Tientsin. They have issued an ultimatum to Nanking which contains the most important of the Twenty-One Demands and which, if accepted by the Chinese government, will reduce China to the position of a vassal state. Apparently they do not intend to stop their operations until they have compelled China to yield to whatever terms they want to impose. And that may mean the end of the Open Door to China. Now the United States is the author of the Open Door. That policy is our child. If it is destroyed ought the United States to fight Japan to maintain it?

It would seem that the wise thing to do is again to consider our policy in the Far East in the light of changed conditions. Investigations by government research scholars as well as by private corporations like the Standard Oil Company have re-

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vealed that the belief in the existence of immense natural resources in China was a mistake, that it contains some iron but little coal and practically no oil. Moreover, the expectation that the opening up of China would result in the rapid development of a great market for our products has not yet been justified. The Open Door policy has been in existence for 36 years and today our trade with China, though it is increasing, is only 4 per cent of our entire foreign trade.

It is probably true that the future scene of mankind's activities is the Pacific area. But it is certainly the Atlantic area today. To put the problem upon the material plane which is the real basis for the Open Door, our best customers are found among the peoples with high standards of living, in such countries as Great Britain, Germany, Canada, and Argentina—not the poverty-stricken masses of China. We might have to go to war to protect the remaining 96 per cent of our foreign trade, but it would appear rather futile to do so to maintain our control of 4 per cent. No one talks now of an inevitable war between Great Britain and Japan. Yet Great Britain is as strong an advocate of the Open Door in China as is the United States and, moreover, Great Britain has many times more money invested in China—more than a billion dollars.

At the Washington Disarmament Conference the Open Door policy won international acceptance. Moreover the Nine Power Treaty then signed by Japan provides for the political independence and territorial integrity of China. The Covenant of the League of Nations, of which Japan until recently was a member, provides for arbitral or judicial consideration of disputes between members before military action may be undertaken. Finally the Kellogg Pact, also signed by Japan, provides that disputes between signatories shall not be settled by other than peaceful means. Japan has violated all these commitments. It must not be forgotten that though Japan has parliamentary institutions, in a showdown the civil authorities must yield to the military. In all probability there is no difference of policy between the militarists and the "liberals" as to Japanese objec-

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tives. Both want the domination of the Far East by Japan. The only difference is one of methods. After the World War the civilian view as to the conduct of international affairs secured acceptance largely because of American and also European resentment at Japanese action in China during the War, especially in the matter of the Twenty-One Demands. It seemed better to yield to an aroused world opinion. That view was strengthened by the results of the Washington Disarmament Conference. But in the very year of the Conference, 1922, the March on Rome took place and since then the methods of militarism, force, and dictatorship have to a great extent supplanted more pacific and democratic methods. In Japan the change was evidenced by the assumption of greater and greater power by the military.

Moreover, it must not be forgotten that as the result of two generations of experience with the diplomacy of western nations the Japanese have developed considerable cynicism as to the relations between nations. They have little faith in the statement that a "new deal" was inaugurated at the close of the War. Poland is a member of the League. Poland took Vilna by force and was later confirmed in her action by the Council of the League. The United States is not a member of the League but is supposed to be animated by the spirit of the League. But the intervention policy in the Caribbean smacked rather of pre-War than post-War ideals.

Are we then to throw overboard our Far Eastern policy? By no means. We should stultify ourselves if we did, for the Open Door in China is only an instance in capital letters of the open door for the whole world, advocated by Thomas Jefferson. Are we to agree to the rape of Manchuria and the loss of territorial integrity by China? No. As a matter of fact all the nations of the world save little Salvador have adopted our policy of non-recognition of Manchukuo. Are we to accept the loss of Chinese sovereignty over territory south of the Great Wall? Certainly not in violation of the Nine Power Treaty and the Kellogg Pact. But if we do not agree to the situation as it has developed in the Far East and do not intend to fight Japan to remedy it,

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what is the alternative? A policy of acquiescence, which is a different thing from a policy of agreement. In other words, for the time being we accept the situation as a *modus vivendi* but go no farther.

A policy of acquiescence is not without its dangers. A century ago Great Britain had the primary place of political and economic influence in the Caribbean, the United States competing with Great Britain for it. Gradually American influence supplanted British influence until the latter faded from the picture entirely, leaving the United States paramount. It is possible that a similar result would follow from the adoption of a policy of acquiescence in the Far East. But it may be interesting to point out certain differences in the two cases. A century ago the United States was practically the only competitor of the British in the Caribbean. Today Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union must be considered in any attempt by Japan at securing paramountcy in the Far East. It is true that history provides numerous instances in which a despoilment like Manchukuo has become *de jure* as the result of tacit recognition; Bohemia, which lost its independence in 1520, and Poland (1792) are instances in point. But that will not be true if active protest by the League of Nations and the United States against the despoilment continues, as it has today over Manchukuo.

The United States discovered in recent years the difficulty of pacifying a little country like Nicaragua. The results of Japanese action in Manchukuo have not been all to the good for Japan. It is true that the Japanese have shut the Open Door there which they promised to keep open and that they now have a trade monopoly in Manchukuo. But away from the railroad lines banditry is still rife and the Manchukuo army cannot cope with it. The need of finding jobs for unemployed Japanese intellectuals has roused the deep resentment of the displaced Chinese in Manchukuo. The increase to Japan's public debt has been enormous and this year 50 per cent of the budget is devoted to the army and navy. During the last five years approximately $1,127,000,000 has been spent on these two. But

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apparent inadequacy of resources has seldom deterred a government from undertaking a war when it was determined to do so. It is possible that with the introduction of law and order among the war-ridden Chinese in China proper, the control of the Chinese market by the Japanese will enable them to recoup their expenses. Whether despite the recent remarkable increase in Japanese commerce and industry the Japanese people can carry this burden is a serious problem. Japan is a poor country and the great mass of her people live on almost the minimum of subsistence. Finally it must not be forgotten that the farther the Japanese penetrate into China the greater will be the opposition and the costlier the adventure.

The factors in the Far Eastern problem are at the present moment too indefinite to justify action. Who knows now what the result of the prevailing antagonism between Russia and Japan may be? Though we have launched the Philippines upon a sea of self-government with the promise of total independence at the end of ten years, we are during that period responsible for their defense, and some military and naval authorities have reversed their former view that they cannot be defended against Japanese attack. Nor have the British who are now busily engaged in fortifying the Singapore base, obviously to protect India and Australia from possible attack by Japan, finally determined upon their policy in the Far East. With patience we might leave for the present the maintenance of our Far Eastern policy to the Chinese boycott, the Red menace, the sabotage of the war lords and bandits, the wearing power of Chinese passive resistance, and the increasing and gruelling taxation upon the Japanese people.

The alternative to the policy of acquiescence is war. Our militarists insist that it is now or never to prevent absolute domination by the Japanese in the Far East. They forget that the American people at the present time are wedded to peace and will not be dislodged from that attitude by statements as to vague dangers to our safety and vital interests. In all probability as long as the Japanese abstain from coveting the Hawaiian

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Islands or acting in the Pacific to the east of Hawaii, Americans will not consider their safety and vital interests endangered. The attempt during the Manchurian crisis in 1932 to launch an unofficial boycott against Japanese goods failed utterly. There was too much danger involved for our own trade interests.

It is not for a layman to discourse upon the problems of military and naval strategy involved in a war between the United States and Japan in the Far East. But even a layman can see that the United States would have to take the offensive. Japan's navy could readily defend her own territory, and it would be no easy matter to land and maintain an army in China which could make headway against the Japanese. Moreover even in the World War German submarines crossed and recrossed the Atlantic and now the submarine is immensely improved in size, power, and cruising radius. And like the Germans in the World War, the Japanese would probably place great reliance upon the submarine in a war in the Pacific.

Americans cannot be too grateful for the geographic position of the United States, separated from Europe by the wide Atlantic and from Asia by the wider Pacific, with 3,000 miles of undefended frontier between ourselves and a friendly nation on the north and with a weak nation on the south. No other great power in the world is so safeguarded by nature from enemies. Upon no other great power, therefore, is laid such a heavy burden of proof that any conflict in which we may engage is really and indisputably a war of defense. There is no justification for believing that Japan's policy in the Far East, unwise as it is, would cause a conflict with the United States that would fall within the category of a war of defense.

Despite the almost universal disapproval in the United States of Japan's militarist and imperialist policy it is nevertheless for us to clear our own skirts of any stains in our past relations with Japan. The exclusion provision of the Immigration Law of 1924 is such a stain. It was passed as an electioneering dodge to win the electoral votes of the Pacific coast states in the cam-

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paign of 1924. Had it not been incorporated in the immigration law a quota of only 146 Japanese would have the right to enter the United States as immigrants—certainly an assimilable number in a population of 130,000,000.

The 19th century was unquestionably the century *par excellence* of the white man. He had imposed himself practically everywhere upon the colored and so-called "backward" races. He exploited their countries, treated them as inferiors and expected them to accept his superior status. And they did accept it almost without question down to 1914. But not the Japanese. They have always been a militarist people and resented the attitude of the white man. At Versailles Japan fought to have a statement declaratory of racial equality incorporated in the Covenant of the League of Nations and failed. The Exclusion Act is the chief source of discord in the relations between the United States and Japan. The Japanese consider that it stigmatizes them as an inferior people. It can readily be estimated what influence it has upon the attitude toward the United States of young men and women in the institutions of higher education in Japan. By 1931 real progress had been made in California, even among the labor interests, looking toward the abrogation of the exclusion law. The movement ceased with Japan's imperialistic adventure in Manchuria. But the law ought to be abrogated in our own interest and for the peace of the world. Then if we shall abstain from a policy of pin pricks such as the widely heralded naval maneuvers recently held in the Pacific and the even more widely heralded air port policy in the Aleutian Islands, prompted chiefly by prestige psychology, we shall have done all that can be expected to maintain a policy of friendliness and understanding toward Japan.

The question is sometimes asked "Shall we desert China which has hitherto regarded us as her best friend, and leave her to the mercy of Japan?" China has our deepest sympathy and good will but as a guardian we have been a failure. A guardian should protect the interests of his ward whereas at every crisis in China's history since the establishment of the Republic we

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have let her down—at no time so badly as at the Versailles Peace Conference. We are not going to fight Japan to save China. Neither is Great Britain nor Russia nor any country except as an aid in the defense of its own interests. Only the Chinese can save China. Hostile critics are constantly asserting that the chaos in that country has never been so great since the Revolution as in the past few years. The remarkable increase in China's foreign trade, the 60,000 miles of automobile highways constructed, the modern factories, airways, radio stations, telephone and telegraph connections, national and provincial universities established, hardly bear out that statement. China is not a corpse. It may take fifty years for her to recover her former political status, but what are fifty years in the life of a nation whose history extends back some four thousand years? Despite the bitterness of Chinese patriots China can wait, and it is just possible that in these dynamic days she might not have to wait fifty years.

Our Next Great Poet

HENRY F. MAY, JR.

You will sing no new song,
No cleansing chant of fiery revolution,
No world set free of terror, no solution
For all our maze of tangled right and wrong—
You will sing no new song.

Nor will you be concerned
With tempting mental labyrinths that lead
Through palace halls that glow and flare and gleam
As palaces can only do in dream,
Till suddenly, ah suddenly indeed,
Truth laughs, and all the palaces are black
And there is no faint gleam to lead us back
For all the lamps are burned.

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You will not try
To catch proud Beauty as a butterfly,
And stick a cruel hatpin through her head
And analyze, with microscopes and things
The lights and colors flashing from her wings,
And suddenly discover she is dead
And save her poor corpse, colorless and dry
And wonder why—

You will not tell
This gasping, straining world that all its pains
Are mere delusion. When the world is bitter
And keen with fastbound ice, you will not twitter
Of April-nymphs and endless jollity,
For you will see
The swift cold sadness of November rains—
The blacks, the greys,
The clear sharp sleety sting of winter-days.
Yes, in this rich rank jungle where you'll dwell
You will know sadness well.

You'll not belong
To any favored few who lisp your creed
In erudite obscurity, your clear
Full voice will come to all who have the need
To hear,
And down the ages
Will echo freshly from the yellowed pages
In timeless company with the world's dear few
Who simply sang the beauties that they knew,
Beauty of woman, beauty of wind and sea,
Of joy and agony,
Of velvet death and rainbow-colored life,
The gentle hymn of peace, the high choked song of strife—
Simple as time, as subtle and as strong—
You will sing no new song.

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Ancient Construction—Genius or Ingenuity?

ERNEST E. HOWARD

DESPITE the findings of patient and scholarly archeological and historical research there seem to prevail popular notions, almost crystallized into serious beliefs, that the structures of antiquity were built in some extraordinary manner, unknown and unfathomed, of such huge stones that builders today could not move or place them, and with refinement of workmanship never since possible. The simple truth is that any of these great works, with plenty of time and men, could be duplicated *structurally* today by resourceful construction engineers with the use alone of what was available to the ancients, including their tools and equipment. This implies no reflection upon the consummate genius of the engineers, architects, and craftsmen of millennia past. Nor is it to be expected that every traveller should detect the particular technical fallacies in many an engaging tale or pretentious statement of guide, or even guide-book and travel lecturer. The technical means by which a bridge pier is constructed today in a deep and rushing river may well be quite as much a mystery to the layman as the means by which Egyptians raised obelisks.

At the Temple of Baal-Bek in the Anti-Lebanon mountains in Syria I met an extreme example of the credulous romancer who bases his conception of ancient building operations upon extravagant fancies and naive exaggerations. It may be superfluous to say of these well-known and oft-visited ruins, which undoubtedly date to remote antiquity, that there are numerous buildings embracing many periods. They were brought to their greatest magnificence by the Romans, suffered the customary vandalism of remodelling efforts of early Christian and Mohammedan, were wrecked by the Mongols, looted by Timur, sacked and laid waste by Jezzar, and tumbled down by earth-

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quakes. But still they remain, an impressive testimony of man's accomplishment. My chance acquaintance was sober, dignified, and ponderous. "The oldest part of this structure," he said, "was built by Cain while Adam was still alive. These huge stones are proof that giants once lived, for they couldn't be moved today."

"Do you mean giants mentally," I asked, "or giants physically able to move these stones without mechanical means?"

"Physical giants," he assured me, "you can read in *Genesis* that 'there were giants in the earth in those days—mighty men'; they would need no mechanical means."

"Don't you think," I persisted, "that a small man with a God-given brain and a lever, or Archimedes with his screw, could do something like this?"

But, regarding me as a frivolous heretic and preferring his fables, he only conceded, "They probably used tamed mastodons for draft animals!" and ended the argument. I refrained from asking him why giants should need the ordinary stair steps or how they could get through the doorways.

Such credulity is in some measure reflected by many a traveller in contemplating ancient structures and handicraft. The examination of the works of hands that have been dust for centuries seems to excite the emotions and to paralyze ordinary common sense. Sometimes even the erudite may let their enthusiasms betray their good judgment. An antiquarian I called upon in Cairo laid aside his work of copying a hieroglyphic inscription to select from his treasures a mallet made of a piece of wood some five inches in diameter whittled down to a handle at one end, not unlike an old wooden potato masher. A deep groove encircled the head, worn by the countless blows of some ancient Egyptian mason—truly an interesting primitive tool. But this antiquarian-collector was not content merely with its ancient usefulness. "Observe," said he, "how much better this is than the mallets we make today; it is all in one piece and the head can't fly off the handle. We aren't so clever with mallets now. But for such discoveries this design would be a lost art."

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"Well," I countered, "if you had ever visited an old tie camp in the Ozarks you would have seen primitive native-made mauls, used for driving wedges into white oak logs to rive out ties, of just the same pattern as your Fifth Dynasty mallet. Many an American pioneer has swung such a maul. Moreover," I insisted, "your mallet, while of consuming interest because of its antiquity, because of the feeling of kinship and sympathy with those old builders it inspires, is no pattern for us in mallet design. It is rather an example of how not to make mallets. It is badly worn because its striking surface is against the side of the grain instead of against the end of the grain. And we know how to put in handles that won't come out."

But the favorite source of construction legends of travellers since the time of Herodotus and no doubt long before is to be found in the pyramids of Egypt. I was standing on one occasion at the base of the great pyramid, the pyramid of Cheops or Khufu. To the east flat green irrigated fields stretched some six miles to the Nile beyond which were the trees, domes, and turrets of Cairo—to the west the rolling desert of sand and rock. Nearby, to the southeast, the Sphinx crouched deep in his pit, well below the level of the esplanade around the pyramid. Along came a tourist cavalcade on camels and there on a camel was an acquaintance of travel. "Here is a structure," he challenged aggressively, "that you engineers couldn't build today! How could they have moved such great stones and brought them such vast distances!" and he talked on about 'unknown methods' and 'lost arts.' Had my friend looked closely he would have seen that while the lower courses are of very large blocks most of the stones of the pyramid are not "huge" but are of an ordinary size for heavy masonry (some two feet or more thick and in weight from two to five tons each) which ten or twelve men with crow bars could readily handle. Very cursory examination would have made evident that most of the stones were not brought from great distances. The limited number of blocks of granite, basalt, or diorite were brought in boats from quarries far up the river. The facing stones came some fifteen miles from

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quarries east of the Nile. The rest, constituting at least 95 per cent of the total mass, are of the same material as the base rock underlying the desert. They were quarried within a few hundred yards of the site. Obviously the hole or pit containing the Sphinx was such a quarry and the Sphinx a protruding mass either designedly or accidentally left to be carved into his Sun God form. Moreover it was obvious that most of the stones of the pyramids are not laid, as is sometimes believed, with "joints so close that a knife blade cannot be inserted." In general they are laid in rough squared rubble fashion on heavy beds of mortar separated by wide joints filled with mortar and spalls. And whatever cementing quality the mortar had is long since gone and the mortar crumbling. Close joints can be found in special stones inside corridors and rooms. And the original surface covering stones, as evidenced by those remaining on the adjacent pyramid, were made with neat close joints—but no closer than can be seen in the marble wainscoting of a modern building. Even climbing the pyramid has been represented as very difficult, to be accompanied by much noise and excitement. Quite erroneous, except for the thrill that must come to any one from the intimate contemplation of the dignity and majesty and antiquity of that great pile of masonry. The stone courses are generally a little higher than the knee and awkward as a step but quite easy with the 'hand up' of the native climbers. With such help any able-bodied man can climb the pyramid in half an hour, probably as easily as he could walk up the stairways to the equivalent height of the fortieth floor of a modern building.

It may be argued that some of these observations on structural details of the pyramid are not in accordance with Herodotus, but the "Father of History" makes clear that his information came from the priests and he declines to vouch for their construction stories. The span of centuries from the completion of the pyramids to the time when Herodotus saw them is almost the same as the lapse of time from his date to ours—more than two thousand years in which legends might accumulate. Besides, Herodotus' training was along literary and musical lines.

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Ancient Construction — Genius or Ingenuity?

Complete description and analysis of construction procedure, either ancient or modern, necessarily involves extended and technical discussion of little interest to a general reader. But perhaps reference to a few elementary operations may illustrate the simplicity and directness which underlie most construction work. In building, one of the most fundamental processes is the moving and raising of heavy weights. The tomb pictures and written records show that the Egyptians knew about levers, ropes and blocks, about wooden sleds for carrying stones, and about greased skidways. They used timber scaffolding, cribbing for raising and supporting heavy loads, gin poles, gallows frames, masts, and probably derrick booms. They knew how to distribute loads on several supports and how to make hitches so that many men could coordinate their efforts. They were expert wheel makers and used pulleys, gears, and pinions. They knew the use of wedges, and employed many and varied tools including diamond drills and saws for cutting stone. Give these to a practical contractor today and he could move any stone in Egypt.

Where regular equipment was not available many a piece of modern construction has been accomplished by means of ingenious expedients. An incident may illustrate. On one occasion, in a remote locality in British Columbia, I saw an old Scotch contractor raise an unwieldy seventy-foot girder to a height of forty feet with the only derrick available, of a capacity less than one-fourth of the total load. He "rocked" it up. Placing timbers under the girder near its midpoint, he lifted first one end and then the other with his light derrick, thus 'see-sawing' the girder over the timbers, placing an extra timber first toward one end and then the other and thereby gaining the height required.

In the opinion of some competent authorities the stones of ancient structures were "rocked up" in some such manner. Or other equally simple methods might have been used and could in necessity be used again. An ancient writer very wisely said, "Ingenuity is of more avail than machines." Although the pre-

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cise details of the methods employed by ancient builders will probably always be open to argument, there is enough evidence in their structures to indicate their operations in a general way. And often in the partial destruction suffered by most ancient monuments the testimony is more vivid than in the parts of the structure still intact.

The fallen columns of the Parthenon and of the Temple of Zeus in Athens tell the story of how the marble was brought from the quarries of Mt. Pentelicus ten miles away. These columns are not monolithic. Each is a pile of cylindrical blocks from five to seven feet in diameter and three to five feet in height. In each end of each block is a central hole about three inches square and six or eight inches deep. Obviously these once held gudgeon pins. A gudgeon pin is a projecting axle fastened in, sometimes only temporarily, but not passing through a rotating member. Consider a block cut to rough finish at the quarry with gudgeon pins in place. With shafts framed about the stone and pivoted on the pins we have something similar in appearance to an old-fashioned horse-drawn roller but of a weight less than the standard fifteen-ton roller. Animals or men hitched to the shafts could roll the block along and the passage of the block would improve the roadway. Of course the flutings of the columns were cut after the blocks were set in place.

Interestingly enough the columns of the Temple of Zeus erected about the first century A.D. appear to have been handled in the same manner as those of the Parthenon, placed 500 years earlier. By building them up with wood or stone pieces properly shaped and strapped in place to produce a cylindrical mass, the same method of transportation could be used for blocks which are not round. One of the most interesting brief stories told by Marcus Vitruvius, who wrote in the first century, concerns a contemporary attempt at transportation by rolling in Rome, and tells how a contractor named Paeonious "went broke." Paeonius was the lowest and best bidder for the delivery of a stone twelve feet long, eight feet wide and six feet high, for the base of a statue of Apollo. Paeonius had an ingenious idea. He con-

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structed two wooden wheels fifteen feet in diameter, one framed on each end of the stone so that the stone stood as an axle, then connected the two wheels around their circumferences with pieces of wood "two inches square not more than a foot apart, extending from wheel to wheel and thus enclosing the stone. . . . Round these bars a rope was coiled, to which the traces of the oxen were made fast, and as it was drawn out the stone rolled on by means of the wheels." But alas, alas, "the machine would not keep a straight-forward path but swerved from side to side and stood in need of constant rectification—so much so that Paeonius was at length without money to complete his contract." If only one could have suggested to Paeonius to use a snubbing rope on each end of his cylinder!

Of course not all horizontal movements were managed by rolling. We know the old builders used greased skidways. Tomb pictures show men laying down under sled runners what must have been greasy cloths or pads—just as men today throw down greasy burlap pads under the runners of the picturesque vehicles in Madeira. The ancients undoubtedly used rollers and probably used balls. In any old-fashioned quarry one will see a small stone thrown under a larger one so that it may be 'jiggled' along with crowbars. It is a simple step from the selection of an approximately spherical stone to the provision of purposely made balls on which loads can be moved easily and quickly.

Almost every one has noticed what simple rollers and timbers are used for moving a house and is familiar with the common horse-power capstan or winding drum turned by a horse walking around a circle. At times today such horse-power capstans are found more suitable than a steam hoisting engine. The sakiyeh, still used in Egypt, is an ingenious pumping engine. It has two large crude wooden cog-wheels meshed together, one mounted on a vertical and the other on a horizontal axis, and is operated by an ox or camel travelling in a circle. There is no doubt that people sufficiently ingenious to design the sakiyeh would make use of the similar, and much simpler, animal-operated capstans for providing power. For many loads wheels

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were used. Very simple two-wheeled vehicles can accommodate heavy loads. The rough large-wheeled cart frames used for transporting heavy logs in the Southern pine forests are probably similar to the wheeled devices employed by the Egyptians.

Naturally the principal structures of antiquity now remaining are of stone. Structures of wood long ago disappeared. Probably no other craft retains so much ancient lore as that of the stone mason. Machinery did not come into general use in quarrying and stone-cutting until within the last four or five decades. In older marble quarries a generation past such operations as the splitting off of large blocks by driving wooden wedges into channels or crevices and then soaking the wood with water could have been seen, just as they could have been seen in the regions of Cairo and Assuan four thousand years ago. Such primitive operations and methods are not unknown or lost arts because they are not commonly in use.

Man began to build as soon as he emerged from savagery. Construction craft developed from one generation to another. Even in most ancient times competent builders were imported from one country to another. Apprentices were trained and craftsmen developed among the local peoples. The construction lore of the Egyptians passed on to the Phœnicians and Cretans, then to the Greeks, then to the Romans.

By saying we could do today, by their own methods, what the ancient builders did I do not belittle their accomplishments. Nor should we think they worked merely by "rule of thumb." The Egyptians originated surveying, devised geometry, developed trigonometry and could calculate volumes and weights. We are inclined to forget that up to a half-century ago geometry was principally taught from an almost literal translation of a textbook written by Euclid, a professor of mathematics in Alexandria in the 3rd century B.C.; or that Archimedes with his study of the lever and of the application of the screw and worm, used today in much machinery and for driving motor vehicles, lived in Sicily more than two centuries B.C.; or that Hipparchus at about the same time fixed the length of the year within four

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minutes of present determinations. Evidently out of respect for Columbus we choose to forget that for several centuries B.C. the sphericity of the earth was common knowledge among the Greeks. The Egyptian story of creation, centuries older than the Hebrew record, says that "God created the world revolving in space" and that "the earth navigates in a celestial ocean in like manner with the sun and stars."

Nor did the Greeks concern themselves with philosophical abstractions alone. Among other things they devised machines operated by compressed air. An author two thousand years past said "our ancestors reasoned that the laws of mechanics are founded on those of nature, and are illustrated by studying the master movements of the universe itself." What greater conception is needed for the basis of engineering design?

Evidently the writers of antiquity considered the operations and methods of construction so generally known and well-established as to merit little detailed description, for written records are meagre. It seems truly to have been said that the epics of engineers are not written in words but are inscribed in huge characters on the face of the earth. And these monumental epics of the past testify to the ability of the ancient builders, who were men as we are, who confronted the same laws of nature, and who built without the help of giants, mystery, or pretense.

The ancients had great conceptions. They planned their structures carefully. Often, perhaps always, they built small models in advance. But this discussion has only to do with questions of construction operations and not with problems of conception or design. I do not say we could *design* a more perfect structure than the Parthenon; but if architects could design and artists adorn such a structure, modern builders would have no difficulty in building it—"by hand!"

Perhaps some day we shall grow up sufficiently to make our appreciation of a structure independent of its being wrapped in mystery, or being the biggest or the most expensive. We might then view with intelligent appreciation instead of childish wonder or primitive awe.

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Nast, Gladiator of the Political Pencil

WILLIAM MURRELL

LINCOLN is reported to have said: "Thomas Nast has been our best recruiting sergeant"; and Grant is quoted as attributing his election in '68 to "the sword of Sheridan and the pencil of Nast." These statements must be set down as apocryphal by the cautious historian but that they gained currency and credence is indisputable; and these legends, coupled with the general belief that he singlehanded smashed the Tweed Ring, have made Nast the most outstanding figure in American graphic history.

That he is the only American artist who has made himself a political force solely through his drawings is an unquestionable fact and a high distinction. His was an eloquent and finished expression; he reached heights of scathing ridicule, finalities of venomous attack, and depths of scorn and detestation that have never been equaled either before or since his time in American graphic effort. Nast is often spoken of as the first great American cartoonist. In a very real sense he was the last. For while it is true that many of his symbols and devices have become part of the cartoonist's stock in trade, and through these his influence lives today, on the other hand his *attitude* was a complete flowering of the older tradition—a tradition of ruthless, two-fisted attack. Nast was fortunate in that he had no temperamental adjustments to make. He was a born crusader, and the older tradition acquired unparalleled emphasis reinforced by his driving power, his capacity for indignation and hate, and the bitterness and savagery of his attack.

In one other important respect Nast was fortunate also: he was fortunate in being the first cartoonist to have the incal-

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culable advantage of a weekly publication of nation-wide circulation as his medium of reproduction and public appeal. Before the Civil War cartoonists were dependent on the limited opportunities offered by lithographic firms, short-lived periodicals, and political campaign orders. Had Nast's two immediate predecessors, Edward Williams Clay and David Claypole Johnston, both greatly gifted men, had his singular good fortune of regular and well-paid contribution to a weekly comparable to *Harper's* instead of having to free lance under the least favorable conditions, the history of their work and influence would have been very different.

So much for legends, generalities, and speculations. Let us now examine more closely the background and early influences of Nast's life. He was born in 1840, the son of a regimental bandsman in Landau, Bavaria. In 1846 the liberal opinions of the father led to his emigration to New York whither the family followed a little later. The young Nast did not take kindly to schooling and preferred to carry his father's trombone to the theatre and then sit in a corner and make sketches. He had a little instruction in drawing and painting but it was entirely due to his own industry and application that at the age of fifteen he was on the staff of *Leslie's Weekly* at $4 a week. He was sent out on assignments to illustrate news items. For three years he remained with *Leslie's* and then joined the staff of the newly founded *New York Illustrated News*. In February, 1860 this journal commissioned him to go to England to cover the Heenan-Sayers heavyweight prize-fight. Then there was an opportunity for him to accompany the Garibaldi expedition which was to unite and free Italy. Those months with Garibaldi were pregnant with import to Nast, then a youth of twenty, for he became a crusader and a hero-worshipper and what he saw on the march and in the field prepared him for the work he was to do during the Civil War in America. After a few weeks of travel he returned to New York, married the day before his twenty-first birthday, and settled down to steady work. He contributed drawings occasionally to *Harper's*

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Weekly among other publications and in 1862 he was engaged on the staff of *Harper's*. Thus began the connection that was to last nearly twenty-five years.

Nast drew his battle scenes and devastated areas with the best of them but it was his "Christmas—at Home and at the Front," "Furlough—Welcome Home!" pictures that brought tears to the eyes of subscribers and letters of praise and thanks to the Harper office. In 1863 Nast began those allegorical cartoons on phases of the War and public sentiment toward it which were to rally waivering thousands to the cause of the Union and thus occasion the remark attributed to Lincoln. But it was his great "Compromise with the South" cartoon, a few days after the Chicago Peace Party Convention had announced its platform and nominated McClellan and Pendleton, that made him a power in the councils of the Nation. In the platform the war was proclaimed a failure and the Democratic party was pledged to arrange an early peace. General McClellan resigned from the Union Army to become its candidate. In Nast's cartoon (in which there is biting irony but no humor) a Southerner, with one foot on the graves of "Heroes Who Fell in a Useless War," grasps the hand of a crippled Northerner. At the graveside Columbia weeps and behind the Southerner Negroes are seen again in chains. The effect of this drawing was stupendous. Extra editions of the *Weekly* failed to meet the demand—and this despite the fact that, as Parton says, "circulating in every town, army camp, fort, and ship, it placed the whole country within his reach." The plate was used for millions of copies during that presidential campaign and unquestionably had more weight in deciding the outcome than any other single effort.

And thus Nast, not yet twenty-four, found himself not merely popular but famous. How had it come about? From this time forward, even up to the present day, rumors and whisperings have cropped up to the effect that he was not the man of his drawings—he was too simple—and that some master mind directed his hand. This of course is ridiculous—nothing directed

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his hand but his own convictions. But his convictions were those of a fierce idealist and a strict moralist, the convictions of a man who knew no hesitancies and no introspection, the convictions of a man to whom a thing was either white or black. Later on "those who have undertaken to civilize mankind" (as de-Mandeville ironically characterizes the political masters) were to exploit the convictions of this idealist for their own quite other purposes. And it is highly improbable that he ever became aware of it.

One important formative aid Nast did have, however, and that was the stimulating presence of his wife, Sarah Edwards. A mutual interest in amateur theatricals threw the untutored youth and the intelligent, accomplished girl together. After their marriage she read historical and dramatic works to him while he was at his easel, and she frequently suggested the Shakespearean quotations and adaptations with which his cartoons were so often illuminated. James Parton, the biographer and miscellaneous writer, a favorite cousin of Mrs. Nast, was a frequent visitor at the house of the young couple, and his intelligent discussion of political and social affairs also did much toward filling in the gaps in Nast's education.

Nast's first purely political cartoons, which appeared early in Andrew Johnson's administration, were directed with telling effect against the greatly maligned occupant of the White House. Nast saw Johnson simply as a traitor to his party, and all the fierce invective and scathing ridicule at his command was unleashed. The radical Republicans were overjoyed at receiving such strong support; they supplied the press with "news" of ever increasing Ku Klux "outrages" in the South, they worked hard to manufacture evidence of Johnson's complicity in the assassination of Lincoln, and they plotted night and day to get rid of the humane obstructionist to their plans for colonizing and looting the prostrate Confederate States. But Nast, while with them, was not of them; he was quite unaware of the unscrupulous, even criminal activities of some of his party leaders—the fanatical, vindictive Thad Stevens,

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the shifty, sinister Ben Butler, and the unspeakably corrupt Ashley.

The nomination of Grant for President in 1868 was hailed by Nast with enthusiastic fervor. He had admired the General for many years and now felt that Grant would again save the country. Consistently enough Nast never waivered in his faith in Grant as an able executive during the whole of the eight long years of scandal, plundering, and misrule. He was devoted to Grant the Hero and when he went to Washington dined twice with the General at the White House and was entertained by the leaders of both houses of Congress, by Cabinet Ministers, and by the Justices of the Supreme Court. So did the wily leaders trap Nast, counting on him to uphold Grant, and on Grant to "dress the window" of the administration while they managed affairs in the hidden inner recesses.

Nast did valiant work against Seymour, the Democratic candidate. Every week for five months he carried the attack to the enemy. Seymour's record and promises were savagely pilloried. As Lady Macbeth, endeavoring to wash off the Draft Riot stains, as tempting devil, and as cunning satyr the Democratic nominee's reputation was ripped to shreds.

With his hero installed in the White House Nast's occupation was gone. The year 1869 passed quietly. If he had any misgivings that all was not well on the Potomac he had no desire to confirm them; a blow at the administration was a blow at the Party—worse, it was a blow at Grant. The little gladiator was in a quandary and he needed action. He looked about for another foe and he found him on his doorstep.

For years the people of the City of New York had known they were being robbed by their elected officials but no one suspected the depths of their corruption or the colossal sums they stole. Headed by "Boss" Tweed, "Brains" Sweeny, "Slippery Dick" Connolly, and Mayor "O. K." Hall the Tammany Ring had acquired absolute power in the City government, a majority in the State Legislature, and John T. Hoffman, a Tammany man, was in the Governor's chair in Albany. Not content with

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emptying the City and State treasuries they sold Fisk and Gould the legislation and judicial opinions necessary for further exhaustive plundering of the Erie—and performed similar favors for Vanderbilt at the very time he was fighting Gould for control of that railroad. "What are you going to do about it?" was Tweed's cynical query to all protests, whether on stolen ballots, stolen money, or corrupt legislation.

Nast knew what to do about it. These men were criminals, he would picture them as criminals, as ruthless criminals, as clumsy criminals, as ridiculous criminals. And between the alternating wrath and jeers of the people they would be swept away. With but little factual evidence in their hands the *Times* editorially and Nast with cartoons in *Harper's* Weekly courageously hammered at the Ring for more than a year without, it must be ad-

THE MILLENNIUM
THE TIGER AND THE LAMB LIE TOGETHER

Courtesy of Harper and Brothers

The Millennium
The Tiger and the Lamb Lie Together

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mitted, much result when suddenly the unexpected happened. James O'Brien, former Sheriff, a disgruntled minor member of the Ring, supplied George Jones, owner, and Louis Jennings, editor, of the *Times* with Comptroller "Slippery Dick" Connolly's records. The *Times* immediately began to publish daily installments of these obviously padded and fraudulent accounts and the members of the Ring knew it was the beginning of the end. With an election only a few months off they were desperate. Attempts were made to bribe both Nast and Jones. Huge sums were offered—and refused.

Now the proofs were in their hands Jones, Jennings and Nast were inexorable. They demanded not only a clean sweep of the Ring in the November elections but arrest, prosecution, and jail terms for the gang which had stolen between two and three hundred millions of public money. During the fight on the Ring Tweed said: "I don't care what they print about me, most of my constituents can't read anyway—but them damn pictures!" And even to many thousands who could read, the facts and figures printed by the *Times* meant very little compared with the weekly cartoons of Nast. In these he rose to his greatest heights, expressing to the full his imaginative fertility and his uncanny ability to render his victims ridiculous yet still sinister and threatening. In the last cartoon of the campaign, published two days before the election, Nast struck his most powerfully savage blow. The double page drawing shows a Coliseum; in the Imperial box sit Tweed and his cohorts dressed in Roman style but in the foreground of the arena a ferocious tiger is mauling a prostrate female figure—the Republic. Other victims lie in the middle distance and the sword of Justice and the symbol of the ballot are broken into fragments. The caption is: "The Tammany Tiger Loose!—What Are You Going to Do about It?" [1]

If the citizenry was uncertain before, now it was thoroughly aroused and the power of the Ring was broken. Many members

[1] This cartoon was reproduced in the Summer, 1935, AMERICAN SCHOLAR. See William Murrell's article, "Rise and Fall of Cartoon Symbols."

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rushed abroad, others were imprisoned, all passed into oblivion. Tweed himself was finally arrested in 1873 and jailed in default of three million dollars' bail, escaped to Spain, was arrested there (through one of Nast's cartoons!) and died in prison in New York in 1878.

Again Nast was a national hero. The circulation of *Harper's Weekly* had risen from one to three hundred thousand during the Tweed Ring battle and now editorials in newspapers all over the country paid him glowing tributes. He was thirty-one years old, at the peak of his fame and at the height of his powers. Early the next year, 1872, he went to Washington, the Harpers suggesting that he look over the political situation there and hinting that his presence would help with some copyright business they had in hand. From Paine's biography of Nast, entertaining and informative as it is, one gets no insight into the political scene, no analysis of motives or characters other than such as might occur to any good solid Grant man. But he does mention a Colonel N. P. Chipman, a gentleman about whom we know very little today (he has escaped the notice of even Claude Bowers), but who knew everyone and everything in the Washington of the Seventies. Whatever else he was, Chipman was one of the links that bound Nast to the Republican Party. He was Nast's host on his several visits to the Capital, introduced him everywhere, and gave him pointers on politics over a period of years. A shining example of the nature of Chipman's advice to Nast is his letter on the Crédit Mobilier scandal. Chipman knew that many senators and representatives had accepted the stocks from Ames without paying one cent. Yet he wrote:

My Dear Friend:

You will be pained, as all good men are, at the dreadful disclosures in the C.M. business. Was there ever such an exhibition of idiocy and cowardice! With absolutely an innocent transaction to start with, the actors in the matter have by their conduct magnified it into a stupendous fraud. I have not lost my faith in the honesty and integrity of such men as Dawes, Bingham, Garfield, and Patterson, but we must have our

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ideas as to their sagacity greatly shocked and lowered. I want you to understand this matter precisely as it is. The whole subject offers a rich theme for your pencil, but I doubt the wisdom of availing yourself of it. The feeling is one of deep regret rather than censure, and this I think is the sentiment generally. It is this which would make a picture unwelcome. It would "bring down the house" I admit, but at the same time we would all feel ashamed of ourselves for laughing at the calamity. Here is the way all this was brought about:

These gentlemen had a little money to invest. They are all poor, and to turn an honest penny seemed desirable. The sly and devilish Ames gave them the opportunity to invest without fully acquainting them with the transaction. Scene second. The campaign comes on; some whispering about C.M. stock in the hands of well-known Republicans. They thought a frank confession might hurt Grant and that the public would not admit the investment in the stocks to be a legitimate thing; hence they concealed the facts and misled the public. Scene third. The Congressional Investigation begins. With the same stupidity they keep back the simple truth and seek again to cover up the facts. Step by step the disclosures are brought out until the country is shocked, without exactly knowing why or how. It has ruined Colfax and Patterson and some others, and greatly lowered the public opinion in their integrity. All of them must suffer more or less. The whole thing is a matter of unutterable regret. I haven't time to write you the details, or to give you the views of individuals in public life. Expecting you and yours in February, I am, as ever,

N. P. Chipman.

The press of the country had for some weeks been tauntingly insistent that Nast do something on the scandal and he himself had been ready but the Harpers temporized "until exact knowledge had been obtained." With Chipman's neat piece of special pleading before him, torn between indignation and loyalty, Nast now produced one of his weakest cartoons. Justice, standing between two groups of men, one the guilty lawmakers and the other the clamorous editors, points her finger at the first group, and facing the other says: "Let him that has not betrayed the trust of the people, and who is without stain, cast the first stone."

But we are anticipating, since this happened a few months after the presidential election of '72 in which Grant triumphed

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over the unfortunate Greeley. That campaign was one of the most scurrilous and vituperative in history. Greeley was nominated first by disaffected liberal Republicans under Carl Schurz and later by the Democrats. His platform was a heap of contradictions and his own intemperate speeches and editorials for twenty years past were exhumed, exhibited and ridiculed with deadly effect by Nast. The opposition imported Matt. Morgan from England and he, in the pages of *Leslie's Weekly*, caricatured Grant and his supporters as drunkards, pirates, carousing sensualists and rowdy villains. Morgan had none of Nast's inventive genius or graphic ability but he could and did easily outdo him in pictorial billingsgate. As the campaign wore on, Nast too became more savage, and taking Greeley's "Let us shake hands across the bloody chasm" for legend or caption he pictured the unfortunate man shaking hands with the Confederate army, with Tammany, with the Catholic Church, with the Negro, and finally, over the grave of Lincoln, with the shade of John Wilkes Booth.

In the spring of '73 Nast went abroad for a few months. While in London he entered into an engagement with Redpath for a lecture tour in America. On his return he had some excellent fun with the younger Bennett of the *New York Herald* over the editor's anti-Grant cry of "Cæsarism," showing the scare as the ghost of an ass. On November 7, 1874, the Republican elephant appeared for the first time in a cartoon in which it and other animals, mostly representing the Press, are stampeded by the ass (Bennett) in the lion's skin (Cæsarism)—a skit on the third-term panic.

Although he was not an enthusiastic partisan in the Hayes-Tilden campaign in '76 Nast did so loyally by the party that the Republican National Committee offered him a check for $10,000—which he refused. With the political passing of his hero Grant (whom he had but once censored) and the absence of any burning issue Nast could not rise to his best. He needed a personal or a moral incentive. When therefore, in '78, after two years of bribery charges on both sides of the Hayes-Tilden

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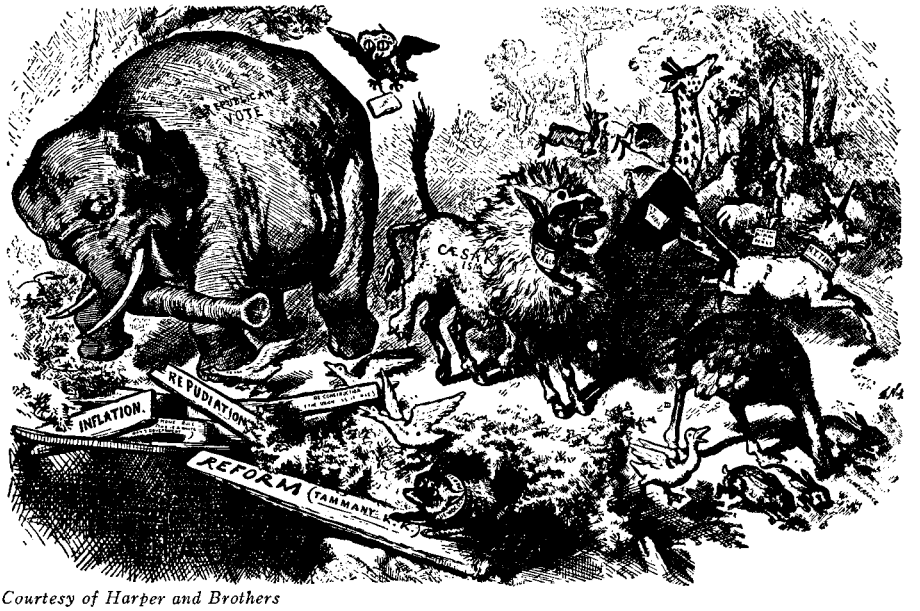
dispute, the *Tribune* began publication of the Cipher Messages proving negotiations from Tilden headquarters to buy the Florida vote, Nast had a hilarious time drawing Tilden in a mummy case, covered with ciphers and hieroglyphics, and with the word FRAUD branded on his brow—Tilden, who had posed as a reformer! But he was merely the one who was found out. The Florida negotiations failed because it was, when the price had been agreed upon, "too late!" Why? However, Nast made effective use of the mummy idea whenever Tilden's influence showed signs of reviving.

For some years now Nast had been receiving a $5,000 retainer from the Harpers for the exclusive periodical use of his



Courtesy of Harper and Brothers

The Third Term Panic

"An ass, having put on the Lion's skin, roamed about in the Forest, and amused himself by frightening all the foolish Animals he met with in his wanderings." — Shakespeare or Bacon

(The first appearance of the Republican Elephant)

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drawings, and for all drawings used in the *Weekly* he was paid so well that his income from the Harpers alone was well above $10,000. He also made an equal sum from book illustrations. With the passing of Fletcher Harper, Sr., in March, 1877, Nast lost his chief supporter in the editorial conferences, and a few months later, over an entirely unimportant drawing, he so missed his old friend's firm and tactful support that he practically ceased to send in anything at all. It was during this impasse that George William Curtis, editor of *Harper's Weekly*, went to Rochester as a delegate to the Republican State Convention. He there made a bitter verbal attack on Roscoe Conkling with the senator returning as good as he had received and winding up with a taunting reference to *Harper's Weekly:* "that journal made famous—by the pencil of Thomas Nast!" Conkling had been and was yet to be mercilessly caricatured by Nast, but such was his hatred of Curtis that the senator took a savage delight in throwing the truth in his face. And a short while later Curtis suffered another defeat when the Harpers hastened to come to terms with their great cartoonist.

Nast was ill-pleased when his party nominated Garfield in 1880. Remembering the Crédit Mobilier scandal he decided to ignore Garfield altogether in his cartoons. Nor was his task made easier when the Democrats nominated General Hancock, one of his highly valued friends. Ultimately he attacked the Democratic party's principles, extolled those of the Republicans, only occasionally introducing Hancock and then without any of his customary savagery and venom. But he flattened his old friend's presidential chances shortly after Hancock was reported to have waived aside any discussion of the tariff, stating it was "a local question." Nast showed the General, seated beside Senator Randolph, asking "Who is Tariff, and why is he for revenue only?" Immediately every one realized that Hancock was a tyro at politics and many Democrats who respected him as man and soldier refused to vote him into power.

But Nast's party interests and allegiances were weakening from campaign to campaign. Wider experience with men and

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affairs had shaken his fierce idealism. His party had repeatedly failed to put up men he could respect, it had no new issues, and when in 1884 it nominated Blaine, Nast, who for twenty years had been its ablest pictorial propagandist, turned "mugwump." The ferocious abuse heaped on Nast and Curtis by the Blaine press through the country testified to the sense of loss the defection of the *Weekly* caused among the old guard regulars. But the *Times* and several other influential journals also refused to support Blaine. Quickly an Independent Republican committee was formed which voted to throw its weight to the Democratic nominee should he be deemed worthy. Grover Cleveland was chosen and was elected, but only after one of the dirtiest campaigns in history. Nast in the *Weekly* and Gillam and Keppler in *Puck* kept up a heavy cartoon barrage against Blaine's political record while the Republican cartoonists attacked Cleveland's personal life. The famous "Tattooed Man" cartoon—Blaine as a freak in a political sideshow tattooed with his unenviable record, the Mulligan Letters prominently displayed—was *Puck's* great gun; and Nast showed the Magnetic Man from Maine as a confidence man with a canvas bag, as a conjurer, as the real man behind the false face of the Ben Butler Greenback Party, as the associate of Jay Gould—and always with the feathers on his hat, reminding the public of Ingersoll's "Plumèd Knight" nominating speech in the convention he failed to carry in 1876.

It was Nast's last great fight. After that most violent campaign the pendulum of public opinion swung away from the rancor and bitterness of personal attacks. Indeed, since that day the cartoon has largely lost its effectiveness as a leader and moulder of policies, contenting itself now with reflections and echoes. Nast was at his best amid turmoil and conflict, in times when men's passions were aroused over political and moral issues—and he was, as has been said, a crusader and moralist himself. In the tamer, softer times of the last two decades of his life and of the old century he found little in the world's affairs to move him. Without regret he allowed the twenty-five-year

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connection with *Harper's Weekly* to slip away in 1886; the *Weekly* became more and more a home paper and Nast became a free lance. The separation, apparently inevitable, was good for neither. As Henry Watterson remarked: "In quitting *Harper's Weekly* Nast lost his forum; in losing him *Harper's Weekly* lost its political importance."

Thomas Nast in a Cartoon Shows How Fierce a Diplomat He Can Be

Veteran Reproduces the Sketch He Sent to Secretary Hay to Reassure the State Department as to His Abilities.

Thomas Nast, veteran cartoonist and newly appointed Consul General to Guayaquil, Ecuador, sat down in the library of The Players, No. 16 Gramercy Park, yesterday morning, and in a few quick strokes produced a sketch giving a faithful likeness of himself with a valise in his hand.

"This is as nearly as possible a reproduction of the sketch I drew in the State Department the other day," he said. "I sent it to Colonel Hay, whom I have known ever since the Lincoln administration. He was a literary man, you know, and I saw him frequently. I pasted a short clipping from the HERALD on one side of the sheet, giving the difficulties encountered by former Consul General De Leon, and I made myself look as fierce as possible to show that I would fear nothing.

"Outside of the clipping, this is just like the other one. I cannot tell when I shall start for South America, as my appointment has not yet been confirmed, and you know the Senate is a slow moving body."

Courtesy of Harper and Brothers

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The Death of Philosophy

LUDWIG FREUND

MOST people, even the outstanding intellectuals of our age, like to think of the modern crisis as a passing stage. The War and the ignorant peacemakers of Versailles are most abundantly cited as the main sources of our present troubles.

The War and the lack of clearsighted leadership in international politics, of course, are to be blamed for most of our external and material worries. But most of us, while doing so, overlook a more significant *spiritual* fact. We are not faced with an economic crisis alone, with the dangers of new wars, with material collapse so to speak. It actually looks as though all our *cultural* forces, as far as the West is concerned, are exhausted and on the point of collapse. We might be allowed to note that true cultural values as they were developed in the West are not considered to be bound up exclusively with material progress and development. Culture takes its rise from forces from within rather than from material wealth. It not infrequently starts from the material ruin overwhelming nations which theretofore had not believed in anything but external power and possession. The Roman empire, once glittering model of power and wealth, became fruitful soil for the rising Christian civilization only after it was drowned in poverty and weakness.

Mussolini likes to call Italy the "mother of European culture." As a matter of fact as long as Rome was master of the world it contributed little or nothing to the moral and spiritual furtherance of mankind. Those few philosophers who happened to appear in the city — Epictetus the Phrygian, Seneca the Spaniard, and Plotinus the Egyptian — were born outside Rome and Italy. Besides, they followed the Greek line of thought, adding

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very little or nothing of their own. Rome of that period, however, became for the European nations which developed later the pattern of administration and of the art of conquest.

The real sources of Western ethical and intellectual standards lay in Hellas and Jerusalem. The Gospels, emerging from Jerusalem, came to Rome, whence they could conquer the world only after the Roman system of physical oppression had broken down. It seems to be a historical and psychological fact that masses who live in despair, but still under the impression of a glorious and abundant wealth which has practically disappeared or is destined to vanish, are better material for reform or revolution than those who know only extreme poverty — like the bulk of the Chinese, for instance. These latter are not easy to stir into action because they are unable to see that life can offer anything but toil and destitution. The Roman masses, however, eagerly grasped Christian philosophy, longing for a *new* hope and belief as the old ones were being shattered. After faith in "*panem et circenses*," in worldly possessions and pleasures, had been undermined it became possible to instill in their hearts a faith in God, human brotherliness, and humility and love, and to establish the hope of an eternal reward in the hereafter, following a temporal life practised in accordance with the commandments of the faith.

With the age of enlightenment, however — starting, that is, with the middle of the 18th century — traditional religion has lost most of its persuasive power. The enlighteners believed in the power of philosophy and reason to reform and finally to replace religion. The last of the so-called enlighteners, Kant, however, was very doubtful that philosophy could answer the problems of religion. He demonstrated the boundaries of philosophy rather than of religious belief. And thus he became the originator of another movement which soon proved to be skeptical about the inclusive scope of philosophy. Under this skepticism philosophy as such began to disintegrate.

To sum up our situation — as far as it is possible to do so in a short article and with some hard and fast formula — I feel

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tempted to say that little which rightfully could be called a genuine cultural trait remained alive and propitious within our proud Western hemisphere. The Roman heritage of political conquest and warfare proved fatal to most of the European nations, each of which tried to outdo her neighbors in the art of achieving power and subduing weaker nations. Out of the juxtaposition of equally strong nations emerged the eternal rivalries and struggles which allowed Europe to miss the opportunities of uniting against new continents, rising and superior to Europe in size and natural resources. Traditional religion became an object of derision or of a false piety rather than of conviction. And philosophy, which was supposed to take the place of the dying traditional faith, soon gave evidence of its mortal wounds and handicaps. What, therefore, is really left of our European power and of our European culture but the appearance and a technique which cannot be mistaken as a fundamental cultural asset or as the last word in a coming struggle for power?

It is a challenging problem of many aspects with which we are confronted—more exciting and challenging than most of us realize. I here confine myself to the task of pointing out, very incompletely of course, the position of philosophy which, less than one century ago, was still the hope of all educated people.

Mankind seems to be unable to perform anything perfect or everlasting. In spite of the fact that this is a truth known to all, most creative individuals are fired by an illusory hope of achieving something perfect or everlasting. And once an ideal is grasped there are always not only crowds but outstanding individuals who cheer and who cherish the hope of perfection as though its final stage could be reached by the realization of a particular ideal, forgetting no doubt that never in history has any ideal been actually realized. As soon as the attempt at realization is carried out the appearance of the ideal undergoes change. The history of philosophy is only one of many witnesses to this rule.

The ancient Greeks were the founders of the discursive, logical way of thinking. Before the rise of Greek philosophy there

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was no clear distinction between the methods employed in thought, no distinction between theology and philosophy, between fancy and logic. *Logos*, reasoning language, and *Nus*, cosmic reason or reason as the principle of cosmic order, are the criteria of Greek philosophy.

With the Greeks began the process of analysis of the object of thought by means of pure reason. Since the reason was considered to be the only reliable instrument for the purpose of exactly discerning the subjects and problems put before us there was no limit to the hope that reason would be able to solve all riddles and mysteries after a possibly hard and strenuous but finally successful period of work. Yet one difficulty was involved, revealing itself in the very first stages of the new approach: this highly critical method, developed with the Greek School, turned its criticism not only toward the world and its objects but toward the human subject as well. Critical philosophy, as it was developed, meant doubt in the first place. It doubted anything merely given until it could be proved and secured by logic and reason. Ideas and objects as being taken for granted without proof were left to the naive. This tendency, however, was not to stop at the reason, which also became an object of critical examination and doubt.

Hence the normal human tragedy of imperfection arose in the field of philosophy. The discriminating mind of the Greeks soon discovered the weakness of unlimited confidence in reason. Heraclitus and the Eleatics had already uttered unmistakable doubts as to the infallibility of reason, and the Sophists were quite sure of reason's inability to reach, or at least to prove, the final and absolute truth. All Greek philosophers since then have retained a certain reserve, in view of reason's obligation to guarantee the truth. The saying ascribed to Socrates, "I know that I do not know anything," reveals the profound dilemma in which critical thought found itself at last entangled. Despite its classical and incomparable achievements, particularly in the period of Plato and Aristotle, the world of Greek philosophy ended in skepticism.

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The failure to produce unshakable evidence as to the procedure whereby reason captures truth opened philosophy to doubt. The tendency to accept and evaluate sufficient proof alone, and the impossibility of discovering proof as far as the human intellect with its all too natural shortcomings is concerned, caused the self-disintegration of philosophy in ancient times. Greek philosophy, which began by doubting everything merely given, proceeded to the illusion of resolving all doubts by means of answers based on critical thought and ended where it began — in doubt.

The Greek method of thought became the model for the Scholastics in their endeavor to defend and strengthen their faith. They introduced Greek philosophy into the pattern of Christian thought. They revised and reproduced the systems of Plato and Aristotle in order to demonstrate that belief in Christian doctrines is not a mere effusion of emotion or naïveté but that these doctrines can be exactly proved by reason. So Plato's and Aristotle's systems, as far as they serve the purpose of grounding the *object* of thought or faith in logic, are liberally and alternately quoted and used by Clemens of Alexandria, Origen, St. Augustine, Boëthius, Anselm of Canterbury, Abelard, Albertus Magnus, and finally St. Thomas Aquinas.

Their line of thought, however, was not uniform and simple. To the early Scholastics the sole object of reflection and speculation was God and His relation to man and the world. They made use of Plato's realization of ideas to prove, for instance, the logical truth of the ecclesiastical dogmas: trinity and incarnation. The high (or mature) Scholasticism was devoted to the logical and systematic interpretation of the world and nature as being an end in itself. World order and natural laws were seen, of course, as in accordance with the Christian conception of the world and of objects. Consequently all the philosophic elaborations of this period were logical illustrations or variations of the religious theme. Nevertheless, God was no longer the sole topic although He was the crown, the completion of each system. The

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essence of God, however, according to this period of Scholasticism, cannot be made evident by reason but by supernatural revelation alone. The incursion of critical doubt thus had its inception in the very midst of faith — inevitably.

Thomas Aquinas distinguished between faith and knowledge and practically refuted the fundamental principle of the early Scholastic period: *Credo ut intellegam* (I believe in order to reflect). Thomas Aquinas recognized the limitations of knowledge and reason although he did not apply his criticism to his own system of thought and belief. But the late Scholastics, though partly and explicitly opposing most of St. Thomas' teachings, followed up his line of demarcation separating worldly philosophy and supernatural faith. They merely carried further the logical conclusions of Thomas by opposing the lonesome soul of man, which is banished into a "nature" distant from God, to God Himself as the "supernatural," unattainable, infinite. Duns Scotus, the first great Scholastic of the late period, actually deserted a faith in reason, resorting instead to the will, which he claimed to be the real source of all knowledge.

The rest of the development is well known to all. The Church Fathers and Scholastics, while making use of critical thought, could not prevent criticism from expanding after its own rules. Once critical methods are released they cannot arbitrarily be curtailed and confined to a certain sphere where their activity is welcome to their host; and philosophy in Europe passed through the same steps which had characterized the philosophy of Hellas. It was quite natural that it should be so. A system of critical thought was invited to clarify logically what previously was taken for granted on the ground of faith or custom or tradition. This having been done critical thought did not rest. It developed through the long run of centuries, emancipated itself from any tutelage, criticized its own possibilities at last, and jeopardized not only the religious system which it was called to support but philosophy as well.

This process, like all historically weightful and significant developments, was not brought to completion within a short pe-

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riod. It has extended over the whole of the European spiritual scene, from the first centuries A.D. up to the present.

The English Empiricists, radically opposing the rationalistic optimism of Continental thinkers, created a system of skepticism toward pure reason and designated experience the only reliable basis of knowledge and thought. Finally Kant established a formidable bulwark in his *Critique of Pure Reason*, making it known once and for all and definitely that no "cognizance by pure reason," no "cognizance of the Absolute," no "absolute knowledge" and no "metaphysics" are possible by means of philosophy.

A new romanticism, led by Fichte and Schelling, a new idealism and rationalism, led by Hegel, and a new voluntarism whose prominent figure was Schopenhauer, in common tried to evade the consequences of Kant's solid wall of skepticism, taking advantage thereby of part of Kant's abstruse vocabulary, but misinterpreting the nevertheless clear thesis and meaning of his principal work. At last arose the new materialism, introduced partly by Comte and propagated vigorously by Marx. These various schools all found their eager disciples and teachers, holding sway each of them over a different section of philosophizing and philosophy-loving people. The *Critique of Pure Reason* is still ignored as the last word in philosophy. But for how long will this be true?

Will, emotion or intuition cannot be regarded as legitimate bearers of critical thought. Those modern prophets who champion these emotional powers may be successful in their way but they are not philosophers, even though they occupy state or university positions. Philosophy, since the time of the Greeks, has been tied up with reason and not with emotion or will or intuition as its principal guides. These mental faculties can never be checked by those reliable methods which philosophy needs as long as it is alive as a critical and scientific force. Critical answers no longer being possible, philosophy dies.

In fact, idealism, romanticism, pragmatism, and materialism as the philosophic metaphysics of our age recall the philosoph-

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ical schools of millenniums ago, all overcome and annihilated by the Sophists or Skepticists of the ancient world. In all the modern systems of philosophy there is nothing original. They represent retrogressions of the philosophic mind to the time before Kant if not to that of the ancient Greek. They embody reproductions of antiquated and more than once defeated ideas and opinions. They may endure for a while but not for long.

It is ridiculous to see certain modern philosophers offering philosophy as a cure to modern man and to modern times. There is not a single philosophy which could attract public interest today. Besides, each philosopher holds an interpretation of philosophy, and of all the concerns of life, differing from any other philosopher. *Within* philosophy there is chaos, not one philosopher being in accord with another. How then can philosophers expect the masses to follow them as liberators from their attachment to material chaos when philosophy can offer them nothing but intellectual chaos?

Marx and Nietzsche were following the natural trend, were completely consistent when, after Kant's final admission of philosophy's destination, they tried to avoid philosophy and to establish a new religion. The old religions had been undermined by philosophy, chiefly because the Catholic Church had used philosophy as a "handmaid of theology." As long as Catholics continue to follow their ecclesiastic leaders this achievement may not imply changes in the Catholic Church as such. But the masses became conscious of the fallacy involved in this combination. The success of the Reformation as a movement of nonconformity and segregation was based not least on this stir among the people. How many Catholics, Protestants, and Jews will be able to withstand the *new* attack against traditional faith and reason which has just taken root in our day and whose end nobody can foretell?

"God is dead," exclaimed Nietzsche five decades ago. He refused to be called a philosopher, just as Marx before him had refused to be called one. Both, however, created a system of

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thought, each of which proved fatal to tradition. Nietzsche founded the religion of "the new pagan," of "the blond beast" who does not want to solve problems and who "exists without meaning but heroically and strong." He invented the "superman" as the new ideal and the "master man as the ruler over the herd man, the slave-minded." In juxtaposition to the religion of great individualism arose the new religion of the proletariat as a natural counterpart, or vice versa. There is no doubt that western civilization will be doomed to witness the final battle between these philosophies which disclaim being so labeled and which are equally contemptuous and nihilistic in their attitude toward any *developed* philosophy. They both mean the resurrection of the primitive. It is the primitive peoples who are taking the fate of these new and mutually hostile doctrines into their hands, and they do not care or know whether, by doing this, they may hurt some of Friedrich Nietzsche's aristocratic feelings or notions. Actually both systems demonstrate, so far, their somewhat *religious* bearing.

The philosophers are standing aside, more or less agreed at least in disapproving the popularizing of philosophic thoughts whose originators did not want to be philosophers but preferred rather to be founders of new Gospels for mankind.

I personally am fearful that both conceptions will in the end prove destructive to western culture. But is there to be found in our time any philosophy capable of vanquishing them? I do not consider this to be the place to set forth my convictions concerning the solution of the problem. May I just mention that, to my mind, the solution will be brought about, not by philosophical but by true religious forces, which alone can counterbalance the weight of pseudo-religions in our prevailingly emotional times.

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In the Realm of Scholarship

National Institute of Health

E. K. FOLTZ

EARLY American history is rather scant in its record of governmental aids to health, but with the advent of modern medicine the latter part of the 19th century signalized an awakening to the value of national health. With the evolution of knowledge "shotgun quarantine" passed into limbo and the stampedes of inhabitants from communities harboring epidemic infections, remembered by many persons still alive, became a thing of the past.

Those who have not even passed middle life will recall that up to as late as 35 years ago the administration of a serum was attended with not a little risk and that such a simple operation as vaccination against smallpox often resulted in dangerous sequelae. In 1902 Congress enacted a law providing for federal inspection and licensing of establishments engaged in the manufacture and interstate sale of biologic products intended for human use. The beneficial effects arising from this pioneer health legislation immediately became apparent. Ethical business engaged in the production of remedies supplied to physicians found itself armed with the necessary weapon for abolishing unfair competition from sources theretofore flooding the country with noxious biologic materials.

The inspection of commercial laboratories and the examination of their products, with the resultant recommendation for licensing by the Secretary of the Treasury, is committed to the National Institute of Health. At the present writing 43 domestic and 11 foreign concerns are licensed by the government to engage in the interstate sale of biologic products, the licenses covering 157 different preparations used in the prevention or treatment of disease. Although the Institute does not guarantee the efficacy of any product it does tell the 175,000 physicians of this country that the manufacturers of biologic remedies have complied with the exacting regulations precedent to the issuance of licenses; and it assures the physician that the serums, antitoxins, vaccines, and analogous products supplied him by commercial manufacturing laboratories are as pure and, where standards have been established, as potent as it is humanly possible to produce them.

The National Institute of Health is an integral part of the United States Public Health Service, functioning under the adminis-

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trative supervision of the division of scientific research of that Service. The Institute is the outgrowth of a small bacteriological laboratory attached to the Marine Hospital in New York in 1887. This laboratory was later transferred to Washington and named the Hygienic Laboratory. From time to time Congress made appropriations for additional buildings and in 1930 changed the name to the National Institute of Health, at the same time providing for increased scope in the activities of the Institute.

As stipulated by Congress, the broad function of the Institute is "the investigation of infectious and contagious diseases, and matters pertaining to the public health." Generally speaking, under this mandate it is the duty of the Institute to prosecute all kinds of investigations concerning the health of our people at any time, in any way, in any place.

The Institute's corps consists of 177 men and women, comprising a scientific staff of 73 of whom 58 are full-time research workers and 15 are experts on a consultant basis or in an advisory capacity, 17 are technicians, and 87 are miscellaneous employees. They are organized into four working divisions: pathology and bacteriology, pharmacology, chemistry, and zoology. A studio presided over by a medical artist prepares illustrations for professional papers and educational exhibits; and a library of 17,000 specialized volumes and 340 current periodicals affords an adequate source of reference for the scientific staff. Men and women are on an equal footing as to both work and pay. All activities are carried on under the guidance of a director detailed for this duty by the Surgeon General from the regular medical corps of the Public Health Service.

The research scientist must approach the study of a problem with an open mind, an attitude well illustrated by the development of a prophylactic vaccine for Rocky Mountain spotted fever by a member of the Institute's staff. This research worker tried, without success, the usual methods of making a vaccine. Then instead of continuing vain attempts to make the vaccine from the causative organism grow on artificial media he used the host, in this case a tick, because all other efforts to grow the organism had failed. Having bred a large number of the arthropods he artificially infected them, ground them up in a mortar, phenolized the mixture and injected a series of guinea pigs and monkeys with the "tick juice." After waiting a sufficient time for the substance to establish a possible immunity he inoculated the entire series, and a corresponding series of unvaccinated controls, with the virus of spotted fever. All the animals injected with the experimental vaccine lived; all the unvaccinated animals died from spotted fever. Vaccine made according to this method has now been used by phy-

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sicians for the prophylaxis of spotted fever for a number of years with eminent success.

In the absence of a clinic for studying disease manifestations the Institute's work is largely confined to laboratory studies, often supplemented by investigations in the field where epidemics or peculiar conditions prevail. The choice of a problem for study rests with the Surgeon General and with the Director of the Institute, who assigns the problem to one of the staff especially fitted by training and personal qualifications for that particular type of research. The worker then proceeds with the investigation either alone or in association with others, depending upon the character and scope of research, and from time to time reports the progress made. Staff scientists in many cases are left wholly to their own resources as to methods of approach and means of procedure. As results are obtained, either of a positive or a negative nature, they are incorporated in papers and submitted to the Surgeon General that he may announce the findings to health authorities, physicians, and sanitarians.

In prosecuting researches many of the experiments must be carried out with animals. A great deal of thought has been given, not only by the Institute but by medical laboratories the world over, to studying disease by methods which might eliminate the use of experimental animals. Much of the technique is performed with artificial media but no method has yet been found to reveal the varied physiological reactions caused by the invasion of micro-organisms or foreign substances other than the experimental inoculation of animals. The same thing is true respecting dietary studies and investigations of the degenerative changes that take place within the body.

It is possible, some authorities think even probable, that much if not all disease is a chemical reaction. But in the present state of knowledge the student of disease phenomena must use either animals or human beings in his experimental observations. It is clear, of course, that the human must be the ultimate subject of trial. And it is customary for staff members and their associates to submit themselves for the final experiment. Thus in studies of pellagra a large group of volunteers was used to demonstrate the facts underlying the nature of the disease. The doctor who evolved spotted fever vaccine tried it on himself before offering it to physicians for use on their patients. These are but random citations. Such procedures are so frequent that they excite no comment and are almost routine.

Incidentally, while speaking of human experimentation, it may be interesting to know that many accidental infections of workers have occurred in the course of studies at the Institute, several of them end-

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ing in death. In 1930 eleven cases of psittacosis, an exotic disease transmitted to man by parrots, occurred in laboratory workers, one of whom died. Every person who has ever experimented with tularemia at the Institute, a total of six, contracted the disease—without, however, a single fatality. A doctor succumbed to Rocky Mountain spotted fever prior to the discovery of the vaccine; another acquired a fatal infection from typhoid while studying the organism; a bacteriological assistant became infected with tuberculosis while making studies of virulent types of human bacilli and lingered six years before he died. A bacteriologist and a chemist acquired infection with the hemolytic streptococcus with serious consequences. And thus the recital might go on to include some forty cases covering a fairly wide range of infectious diseases.

Many of the health problems which have faced humanity from the dawn of written history have for all practical purposes been solved within the last forty years. Many others have become so well understood that by observing certain precautions such as proper diet, a correct mode of living and avoidance of infection a reasonable degree of health may be maintained to old age. Through the spread of information, largely by governmental agencies—federal, state, or local—enlightened peoples are no longer old at fifty.

In attaining this level of improved health the National Institute of Health has contributed a number of discoveries of great value. A casual review discloses some thirty-odd research projects of major prominence and twice that number of minor importance. Some have been of worldwide application and have caused the rewriting of medical texts. To understand their significance it is perhaps unnecessary to allude to more than four or five at this point. Investigation of the prevalence and distribution of hookworm disease in the United States is an example. As an outcome of studies of this disease the broad belt of our Southern states took steps toward its eradication, and these measures have borne results of most remarkable value. A group of medical experts at the Institute has recently demonstrated that endemic typhus of the United States has its original reservoir in the rat from which it is conveyed to man by the flea. Here is another indictment of the rat as a public enemy. One of the foremost contributions to medical discovery was the demonstration by an Institute bacteriologist, a woman, by the way, of the relationship between contagious abortion of cattle and undulant fever of man. Epidemiological investigations, following her classical findings, brought to light a wide prevalence of the disease until then confused with typhoid, tuberculosis, and other maladies. With this knowledge at hand

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health authorities throughout the country have tightened up their regulations governing the production of wholesome milk.

The National Institute of Health is in no sense a commercial organization. But with its present-day ramifications into all our lives, research in public health wears a business aspect in addition to its many humanitarian features. For example, authentic data concerning proper diet (such as vitamin content), resultant from public health research, may ethically be used by business interests in putting forward new and better food products. Knowledge of sanitary measures plays a conspicuous part in both rural and urban real estate developments. The Institute's work on pellagra, fixing improper diet as the cause of the disease and correct diet as its prevention and cure, has an economic value beside which the public funds spent in research on the disease bear a trivial value.

Fortified by a background of laboratory researches, the campaign for pure water, clean milk, and a better understanding of sanitation by the average citizen went forward for a considerable number of years before it bore fruit. But today one may travel by common carrier anywhere in the United States with reasonable certainty that food and water supplies en route will be as safe as at home. It would be inaccurate, however, to say that this magnificent achievement has been attained through the sole efforts of the Public Health Service, for although this governmental agency has had a pretty definite place in leadership its efforts might have been of minor importance had it not been for the thorough cooperation of the state and local health officers.

Twenty-one major research projects are now under way at the Institute, and in addition a number of minor studies are in hand. The researches are spoken of as "major" and "minor" for purposes of convenience only and to define attitude toward the various pieces of work. Experience justifies much flexibility in using the terms, for minor studies sometimes develop facts of great importance; the contrary is also true. The prevention of disease motivates the greater portion of the Institute's activities.

Food extracts and concentrates, the effect of deficient diet on certain diseases, and the nature of vitamins comprise a group of nutritional investigations receiving attention.

An outbreak of epidemic encephalitis in the Middle West, with its center in St. Louis, numbered some 1200 cases with high mortality in 1933. Since this disease has an epidemic history of severe violence in countries besides our own the Institute views the situation as one of commanding importance. Nothing has yet been learned as to how the disease is transmitted, though the facts already gleaned on how it is *not* transmitted point to suggestive lines of study. The nature of the

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virus is the present object of research. In connection with the investigations a new virus has been isolated, not heretofore recognized and not identified; whether this virus is a variation of or has any relation to that of encephalitis is still unknown.

Having identified the rat as the reservoir and its flea as the vector of endemic typhus, the Institute is now trying to find a means of prevention—possibly a vaccine.

For some unexplainable reason meningococcus meningitis has taken on an increased virulence within the last few years. Studies of some 225 strains, gathered from widely scattered sources and now in the possession of the Institute, are under way to develop a stronger serum.

Rating number two in the mortality statistics, cancer has an apparently growing incidence. Therefore cytological, physical and biochemical researches on cellular inhibition and proliferation are in progress.

An epidemic of amebic dysentery, occurring during the Chicago Exposition, brought about a federal investigation which seems to place this exotic disease in the category of a public health menace. Since the *Endameba histolytica*, the infecting organism, may invade body organs other than the intestines and cause fatal sequelæ, such as liver abscess, endeavors are now being made to devise measures for control. Facts so far brought to light indicate that there are apparently many human carriers of the organism in this country and that, under certain conditions, the organism may gain entrance to water supplies.

Observations on bacteriophage and bacterial life cycles, sugar structures with special reference to biological relationships, further work on tularemia, improvements in biologic preparations, and the pharmacology of therapeutic remedies are other examples of work.

Various suggestive fields for further attention include such communicable diseases as the common cold, about which little is known, influenza, encephalitis (together with several other diseases exhibiting nervous manifestations), and certain exotic infections. Cardiovascular diseases lead our mortality rate. Aside from surgical interference, cancer is practically a closed book and presents an urgent demand for increased effort to know more about the fundamental factors underlying its increasing prevalence. Mental disorders in the United States have sentenced half a million feeble-minded and another quarter million definitely insane to permanent institutional care, exclusive of tens of thousands afflicted with nervous break-downs of transitory character treated in hospitals or at home. Dietary habits are the background of a long train of disturbances inviting more attention to nutritional and metabolic researches. So the roll goes. And what is to be done about it?

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Hispano-American Literature and Bibliography

Work of the Harvard Council

HENRY GRATTAN DOYLE

NORTH AMERICAN interest in the rich and varied fields of Hispano-American literature, although not entirely lacking in an earlier day,[1] naturally received its greatest impetus with the rapid expansion of economic and commercial relations with Latin America; but although the vicissitudes of recent years have somewhat impaired the business relationships there has been a remarkable increase of interest in the literature of those countries, especially during the last decade. The publications of American scholars in the field,[2] the increased production of doctoral and master's theses [3] dealing with Hispanic-American subjects, and the initiation and development of specific projects in Hispanic-American literature bear witness to this increase.

Other phases of this interest are the development of libraries and scholarly journals wholly or partly devoted to Hispano-Americana. The collections of the Hispanic Society of America and the Library of Congress owe much to the generosity of Mr. Archer P. Huntington, the latter collection in particular through the "Huntington Fund" for the purchase of recent Spanish and Spanish-American books. A number of university libraries have also developed general or specialized collections, and the library of the Pan American Union, although not primarily devoted to belles-lettres, also contains considerable literary material. Among periodicals *Hispania*, the publication of the American Association of Teachers of Spanish, under the able editorship first of Aurelio M. Espinosa and later of Alfred Coester, its present editor, has regularly given space to Hispano-American literature. The Instituto de las Españas, with headquarters at Columbia University, has issued a number of volumes in the field and is now publishing, under the editorship of Federico de Onís, in its *Revista Hispánica Moderna*, not only critical and biographical articles but a valuable current "Bibliografía hispanoamericana." Some attention is also paid to Hispano-American literature in the *Hispanic Review*, edited by J. P. Wickersham Crawford.

[1] For instance the first edition of the poems of J. M. Heredia, the Cuban poet, was published in New York in 1825, and an English translation of his "Niágara" (attributed to Bryant) appeared in the *United States Review and Literary Gazette* in 1827, with a further translation of his "The Hurricane" (definitely by Bryant) appearing in *The Talisman* during the same year. Mrs. Horace Mann's translation of D. F. Sarmiento's "Facundo" (1868) is another instance.

[2] *See* S. E. Leavitt's *Hispano-American Literature in the United States*, Cambridge, 1932, and its continuations (Chapel Hill, N. C. 1935, and *Hispania*, May 1936).

[3] *See* S. E. Leavitt's "A Bibliography of Theses Dealing with Hispano-American Literature," *Hispania*, May 1935.

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A serious difficulty in the way of advanced studies in the field lies in the relative lack of reliable bibliographical information. This need was early realized, and sporadic individual efforts here and in the Hispanic American countries have produced important contributions in some phases of the subject. The value of organized effort was publicly recognized when the Sixth International Conference of American States, held at Havana in 1928, by resolution proposed the holding of an Inter-American Bibliographical Conference, an action repeated at the Seventh International Conference of American States held at Montevideo in December 1933. In fact the First Inter-American Bibliographic Conference was actually called to meet at Havana on November 5, 1934 but unfortunately had to be postponed. The Seventh Conference also recommended the compilation of national bibliographies and the adoption of a uniform system of cataloguing, in order to facilitate the adoption of the Union Catalog system of the libraries of the United States by all the national libraries of the Americas. The Pan American Union was designated to organize and promote the compilation of lists of books and manuscripts, directories of libraries, inter-library loans and exchanges, and the like. The postponement of the Bibliographic Conference was of course a grave disappointment. National bibliographical committees have been formed however in a number of Hispanic American countries, and a recent letter from the Librarian of the Pan American Union informs me that a program for the proposed Inter-American Bibliographical Center is being drafted and that information concerning it will be available whenever the Governing Board of the Pan American Union adopts it. This, he adds, should be some time in November.

In the meantime the Harvard Council on Hispano-American Studies had been established under the direction of Professor J. D. M. Ford, eminent Hispanist and successor to George Ticknor, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and James Russell Lowell in the Smith Professorship at Harvard University.

In an announcement published in *School and Society* for June 1, 1929 the Council's intention to prepare a "bibliography of the literature of the New World in both Spanish and Portuguese" was announced, with the further statement that ". . . it is the hope of the Council that all persons in this country interested in the history of Hispano-American culture will lend their support to this enterprise by contributing to it all items of information in their control and by calling the purposes of the Council to the attention of useful agencies in Hispanic America." Arrangements were made with the

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Harvard University Press for the publication of a series of bibliographies under the auspices of the Council, the expense of preparation and publication being subsidized by the Harvard Fund for the Humanities.

The bibliographies began to appear in 1931 and were issued at more or less regular intervals until the publication of the last of the eighteen in the fall of 1935. In 1931 appeared Coester's bibliography of Uruguay, Waxman's of Santo Domingo, Rivera's of Puerto Rico, and Ford, Whittem and Raphael's of Brazil; in 1932 Leavitt's of Peru; in 1933 Torres-Rioseco's of the Mexican novel, Ford and Raphael's of Cuba, Leavitt's of Bolivia, and Coester's of Argentina; in 1934 Rivera's of Ecuador, Torres-Rioseco and Warner's of Mexican poetry, Leavitt and García-Prada's of Colombia, Raphael and Ford's of Paraguay, and the writer's of Panama; and in 1935 Waxman's of Venezuela, Torres-Rioseco and Silva Castro's of Chile, and the writer's of Central America and of Rubén Darío. In addition the Council published in 1931 Torres-Rioseco's *Rubén Darío: Casticismo y americanismo* and in 1932 Leavitt's *Bibliography of Hispano-American Literature in the United States*.

The title-pages of the bibliographies as well as the Director's prefaces and the forewords of the respective compilers have emphasized the tentative nature of the bibliographies, and without exception corrections and additions have been cordially invited. No scholarly production is so susceptible to the "time-element" as a bibliography. Even during the process of publication important new works often appear, too late for inclusion without expensive changes in pagination, etc. A bibliographer is sanguine indeed, however, who expects anything else, and one of the joys of the bibliographer's life is the necessity for beginning his collection of *addenda et corrigenda* while the ink still seems to be wet upon the pages of what he had hoped would stand for some time. It is to the credit of the Harvard Council that an acute realization of these difficulties has not delayed or prevented publication of its bibliographies. They are meant to be used and even an imperfect tool is far better than no tools at all. If the bibliographies are accepted, as they seem to be generally both in the United States and in Hispanic America, for what they were intended to be, namely, frankly tentative in character and by no means the last word upon any subject, they will have made a real contribution to scholarship in the field, and the hopes of those who have labored over them will have been more than fulfilled.

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Discussion

Who Are the Ignorant?

OLIVER M. KEVE

THE significant article by William Adams Brown on the subject of our untrained clergy (THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, Summer 1936) suggests some supplementary data in recognition of the accomplishments of men without formal training. Francis Parkman in his book *The Oregon Trail* tells of Henry Chatillon, the guide secured in St. Louis to take the party through the perils of a frontier. "He had a face so open and frank that it attracted our attention at once—a mirror of uprightness, simplicity and kindness of heart. He possessed natural refinement and delicacy of mind. He had keen perception of character and a tact that would preserve him from flagrant error in any society." Here evidently was a competent man. What had been his advantages of formal education? Parkman states that Chatillon could neither read nor write. But he did fit admirably into the situation which circumstance had thrust upon him. A basis of character gave him standing and he possessed an adaptability that carried him through difficult places. "I have never," says Parkman, "in the city or the wilderness, met a better man." Then as now standards of formal education too rigidly applied might deprive society of efficient service.

Not far from the spot where these lines are written there is a rural church served in happy and constructive fashion by a pastor who perhaps would have a hard time to muster enough school credits to make up fifteen units for admission to college. He has served the church for seven years. In this time a new brick church has been built at a cost of $14,000—and it is all paid for. The church is the center for cultural and recreational activities of the neighborhood conducted in a wholesome manner. Religious services of the best type enlist the interest of practically the entire neighborhood. The church owns forty acres of land which the members farm in cooperative fashion, allowing the minister such acreage as he cares to use for his own purposes. Would a man trained in college and seminary serve this church more efficiently? The answer is that a procession of such men preceded the present pastor in this particular position, each leaving after a short and unsatisfactory pastorate, the last one advising the farmers to turn the key in the door of the church and discontinue services. A new church building of the finest type and a new home near by for the minister

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have emerged as one result of the ministration of this untrained clergyman. It is no disparagement of the value of formal training for the clergy to say that the example just given is all too familiar as a type to those entrusted with church administration.

And what is culture? It is told of a certain trio who are members of a college faculty (a man and his wife and a bachelor teacher) that they feel themselves to be the really cultured members of the faculty, the others being barbarians of varying but distinctly inferior degrees of culture. It is said that the conversation of these three is at times rather remarkable for display of knowledge. Their assumption of monopoly of the finer things of life, however, raises a serious question as to the validity of their claim. Every schoolboy knows of the two men born in the same year, 1809. One was the child of a Liverpool merchant prince and as a mere youth was graduated with honors from Oxford University, after which he was given the benefit of wide travel and the best of cultural contacts. The other child first saw the light of day through the chinks of a log cabin in the Kentucky wilderness. How do giants grow? The careers of Gladstone and Lincoln indicate that this matter of education is a complex affair and that it is a mistake to classify people too easily as educated or uneducated.

"Now when they saw the boldness of Peter and John, and perceived that they were unlearned and ignorant men, they marvelled." Thus the account in the book of *Acts*, the fourth chapter. Peter and John were "uneducated men, with no advantages," according to the Goodspeed translation. Moffat renders the verdict of the onlookers in these words, "Uncultured persons and mere outsiders." These disciples had spoken confidently, with evident force and convincing manner, but the speech came to be discounted when it was perceived that the men were uneducated—had not been regularly schooled. They were not within the inner circle and were catalogued as outsiders. What presumption for them to assume to instruct! They should instead have had an inferiority complex, according to their critics.

The founder of the school of journalism at the University of Missouri was Walter Williams, later president of the institution. He was not a college graduate, having left school at an early age to go to work in a printing office. Clyde

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Tombaugh, discoverer of the ninth major planet, Pluto, was a farmer boy interested in an amateur way in astronomy. The experts who had worked for years on the problem failed to find a planet where they felt one should be, but this almost unschooled lad succeeded.

Adaptability, initiative, industry, judgment of character, clear apprehension of duty, ability to bend circumstance to a dominating purpose, these are the essential qualities. Who is the untrained, the ignorant, the mere outsider? Is it not the one who theorizes and dreams but never accomplishes?

And the public is rather impatient with the person who makes display overmuch of personal accomplishment. In a town where I once lived there was a sign of large dimensions on the side of a residence, indicating that here was the home of Rev. R. C. Blank, Ph.D. A man with a real Ph.D. is hardly likely to announce it in that way. And indeed a little inquiry showed that this poor misguided minister had acquired his degree from a normal school in Arkansas. The wife of a minister received some years ago the degree of bachelor of arts from a small church school and ever since then has been diligent in inquiring, in whatever circle she might happen to be, where this or that person received the degree. The lady is unpopular—obviously.

Surely it is the part of culture to welcome goodness and efficiency and accomplishment wherever found and without any deprecatory gesture, while we are at the same time promoting by every possible means the interests of formal education in all of the groups aspiring to leadership.

About Our Authors

Quotation marks indicate passages taken directly from authors' letters about themselves.

When it comes to information about himself WALTER MILLIS, author of *The Road to War*, would like to rush out of print. "I think the Author, in his personal capacity, a greatly overrated specimen—he should be read (if he's lucky enough) and not seen." *Who's Who* offers lean pickings to the interested. Evidently one must read him and from that indirection find direction out. *The Road to War* is worth it. Since 1924 he has been editorial and staff writer on the *New York Herald Tribune*.

NORRIS HOUGHTON decided early on his tangent from the circle. "My chief oddity while growing up was a desire to spend all spare time in theatrical experimentation. At first the neighborhood children were impressed into service as actors. Later as they began to weary I undertook a marionette stage." At Princeton he joined the ranks of stage designers. "After two seasons with a repertory troupe as designer I was thrown on the mercy of the New York theatre through the dissolution of the troupe. Work followed at Radio City, with the Theatre Guild and elsewhere. . . . In the spring of 1934 the Guggenheim Foundation granted me a fellowship to study the theatre abroad." *Moscow Rehearsals* grew out of 6 months in Russia. "After my return I stage-managed *Libel* for Gilbert Miller by night and by day encouraged women's clubs to ponder on the excellences of the Russian stage." And he is a wily speaker.

E. F. BARKER'S account of himself makes good summer reading. For one thing he has always found life interesting. "The reason is, doubtless, that I am just ordinary in almost all respects; fond of various sports though excelling in none; enjoying people, though not particularly entertaining myself. My greatest interest for many years has been my own work—both teaching and investigation—and anyone whose work is also his recreation has good reason to feel well satisfied

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with life. I grew up in northern Wisconsin on the shore of Lake Superior. Pine woods and trout streams were within tramping distance; sawmills and shipyards immediately at hand. . . . In the field of modern physics [he is Professor of Physics at the University of Michigan] my specialty is infrared spectroscopy—through this means we study the forms, dimensions, and characteristic motions of molecules, the relative positions of the constituent atom and the forces binding them together. . . . The fun is not all in observing, for we construct most of our apparatus as well."

ALVIN JOHNSON says "I wish I could help you out by supplying a sprightly note for your column about authors. But you must know that if I were to write anything about myself it would in sesquipedalian verbiage." . . . He is author, of such tomes as *Rent in Modern Economic Theory* and *Introduction to Economics*, and, recently a novel, *Spring Storm*; Director of the New School for Social Research and the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science (University in Exile); associate editor of the *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*; and a member of the editorial board not only of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR but also of *New Republic* (to 1933), *Nation* and *Yale Review*. Until 1918 he was victim of the wanderlust, teaching in seven institutions, from Bryn Mawr and Illinois to Texas and California. The demands laid on him by his various interests have not disturbed him, perhaps because, to use his figure, he regards the world as an onion—peeling off one layer of subjects and interests only discloses a new one.

VIRGINIA GILDERSLEEVE, for 25 years Dean of Barnard College and one-time Professor of English there, still holds that title and would "gladly teach" had she time. From personal experience she knows whereof she writes and is now serving on a committee which seeks some solution to the problem she discusses. . . . She is a trustee of the Women's College in Constantinople and the only woman member of the Judicial Council of New York State. . . . Even a college president needs an occasional pick-up—she declares for a night of opera as an unfailing remedy.

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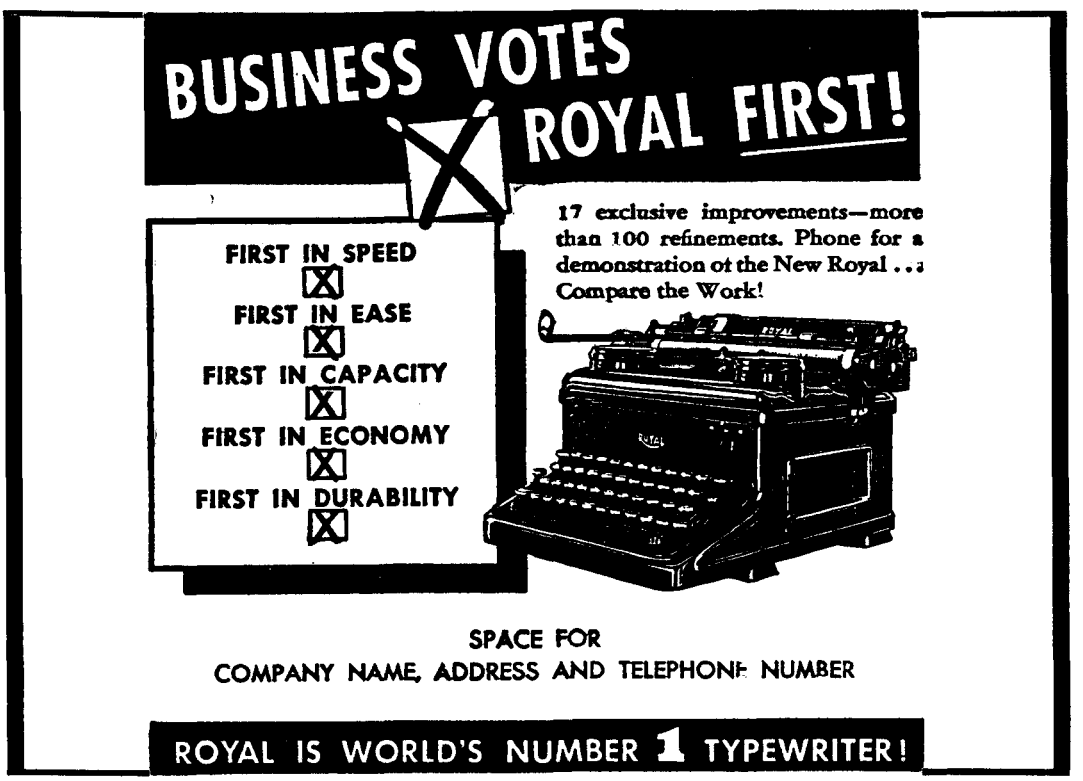
GEORGE BOAS, Professor of the History of Philosophy, Johns Hopkins, started out as an art student, "but when I found I had no artistic talent I left art school and went to Brown University. There I passed four of the unhappiest years I have ever known, almost unbroken boredom, trying to learn something and becoming more bewildered with every year. . . . I have several ambitions: (1) to write a novel which, say, T. S. Eliot would think worth reading; (2) to raise some Northern Spy apples that are fit to eat; (3) to be able to play the Well Tempered Clavichord as well as Myra Hess. My pet aversions are scholars, able executives, interesting people, art critics, and parsnips. I also hate characters in fiction who are misunderstood, who sacrifice themselves for unworthy causes, who have been unfairly given by their authors everything which will make the reader like them. I dislike bombast and most eloquence, neat turns of phrase and apt metaphors."

DELANCEY FERGUSON, Professor of English at Western Reserve University, can write about a number of things so long as they don't include himself. Twice he's tried his hand at a note about himself for THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR. Deponent said: "The first effort sounded smug, and the second smart-alecky. I'm afraid I have no talent for personal publicity." It is common knowledge, however, that he is the editor of *The Letters of Robert Burns* and author of a variety of articles, jocular and solemn, in literary reviews and scholarly journals. (See for example "The Roots of American Humor" Winter 1935 AMERICAN SCHOLAR.) As a man with a Scotch name he is at liberty to carry the reader with him when he takes the Burns cult for a pleasant ride.

STEPHEN DUGGAN, "antidote to our yellow journals and vicious movies," delights in tramping and canoeing and in combatting the patrioteers led by William Randolph Hearst." He once taught political science and international law and diplomacy at C. C. N. Y. and Columbia. Now, as Director of the Institute of International Education, he visits countries



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all over the world. He also serves as a member of the governing boards of various international bodies. . . . He can also chalk up several books.

HENRY F. MAY, JR., is "forced to admit" that he is an undergraduate at the University of California and that his life "to date consists of ages of school plus one year in Europe." Despite this handicap he has had some poems accepted by *Poetry* and other periodicals. And he continues to hope for the best.

ERNEST HOWARD, senior member of the distinguished firm of consulting engineers, Ash-Howard-Needles and Tammen, and author of various technical books and articles, confesses to his share of weaknesses and aversions. "They include casual arguments taken seriously, propagandists, bridge players inspired by constant instructions, those churls who slap their cards down and life devoid of whimsicality." . . . His amateur interest in archeology began with the discovery of artifacts in excavations for pier foundations not far from the Isthmus of Tehuantepec and has grown with wanderings in various places and with inevitable attention to the literature of the subject. . . . His likes in music are catholic and keen; his approach to the problem of building bridges (of which he has designed many and important structures), is esthetic as well as functional.

WILLIAM MURRELL has detected and read a generous portion of the world's most interesting literature, with a fine sense for the valuable and a fine aversion for snobbery and pose. All who share that dislike should become acquainted with *The Toady's Handbook* (published in London because an American audience doesn't know the term). All who want to follow the course of graphic humor in this country should root out his two-volume *History of American Graphic Humor*, published under the auspices of the Whitney Museum of American Art. He could also write authoritatively on the inaccessibility of source materials in museums throughout the land. (Contributed "Rise and Fall of Cartoon Symbols" to the Summer 1935 AMERICAN SCHOLAR.)

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LUDWIG FREUND, from 1930 to 1934 editor-in-chief of the weekly, *Der Schild*, Berlin, is now a political exile living in New York. Obviously he writes against the generous background of philosophy, ancient history, education and sociology absorbed at the universities of Goettingen, Heidelberg, Munich, and Leipzig. Though well qualified to speak of recent trends in Germany his present article is non-controversial and in temper with his several books—*Am Ende der Philosophie*, *Philosophie ein unlosbares Problems* and *The Threat to European Culture*, which have been acclaimed by such eminent men as Hans Driesch, Jacob Burckhardt, Michael Williams, Eduard Heinemann, and Albert Einstein. Dr. Freund is in the tragic position of having foretold through the media of various German publications, but unavailingly, many of the major events in Germany of the last three years.

Like most of our authors, E. K. FOLTZ doesn't want to say anything about himself unless everyone else does. Under the circumstances he offers the following. Educated for the law, he spent 5 years with a large iron company. He then entered the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey as a writer, later becoming associated with the Public Health Service as executive assistant at the National Institute of Health. He is the author of *The Federal Civil Service as a Career* (about which he should speak with authority). . . . When he has time off he gardens extensively—flowers, not vegetables—and in winter makes out with bridge, chess, and history and economics.

HENRY GRATTAN DOYLE, Dean of the Junior College of George Washington University, is member not only of the Harvard Council on Hispano-American Studies but of innumerable learned and professional societies with divergent bearings. He also serves on the editorial staffs of several journals germane to his interests.

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CARSWELL, CATHERINE. *Life of Robert Burns.* 1933. 75 cents. *Page 447*

DICK, J. C., *The Songs of Robert Burns: A Study in Tone Poetry.* 1901. Out of print. *Page 447*

HENLEY, WILLIAM ERNEST, and HENDERSON, T. F., Editors, *Poems of Robert Burns* (Centenary Ed.). 1896. Out of print. *Page 447*

THE MERRY MUSES. Privately or clandestinely printed collections of bawdy Scottish verse containing a few genuine things by Burns; almost impossible to secure. *Page 444*

SNYDER, FRANKLIN, *Life of Robert Burns.* 1932. $4.00. *Page 447*

CHEKHOV, ANTON, *Cherry Orchard.* 1912. $1.00. *Page 398*

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS. Hastings, the Rev. James, Editor. 1928. Half morocco, $144. Cloth, $96. Special low-priced ed., cloth, $65. *Page 441*

GIBBON, EDWARD, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* 1776–1787. 6-vol. ed., Everyman's Library per vol. 90c; 7-vol. ed., World Classics per vol. 80c; 2-vol. ed., Modern Library each vol. $1.10. *Page 433*

DAYS OF THE TURBINS, in *Six Soviet Plays,* Eugene Lyons, Translator. 1934. $3.00. *Page 398*

HOUGHTON, NORRIS, *Moscow Rehearsals.* 1936. $4.75

KANT, IMMANUEL, *Critique of Pure Reason.* 1781; 1787. Translated by Muller, $5.00; translated by Smith, $8.50. Abbreviated edition, $3.50. *Page 492*

PARKMAN, FRANCIS, *The Oregon Trail.* 1849. Published in editions ranging from $1.00 to $3.00. *Page 504*

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